

THE
TRAVELS
OF
Edward Brown, Esq;
Formerly a
MERCHANT in LONDON.

CONTAINING
His OBSERVATIONS on *France* and *Italy*;
his Voyage to the *Levant*; his Account
of the *Island of Malta*; his REMARKS
in his Journies through the Lower and
Upper *Egypt*; together with a Brief
DESCRIPTION of the *Abyssinian* EMPIRE.

Interpersed throughout

With several curious Historical PASSAGES re-
lating to our own as well as Foreign Nations;
as also with Critical Disquisitions as to the
present State of the Sciences in *Egypt*, parti-
cularly PHYSICK and CHEMISTRY.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N :

Printed for THOMAS LONGMAN, CHARLES HITCH
and LACY HAWES, in *Pater-noster-row*; JOHN
HINTON, in *Newgate-street*; and JOHN and JAMES
RIVINGTON, in *St. Paul's-Church-Yard*.

MDCCLIII.





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Edw^d Brown, Esq;



LEXANDER's Successor in Egypt, *Ptolemy Lagus*, if he was not rather the Son of *Philip*, and the Brother of *Alexander*, made *Alexandria* his Capital, and the Care of fortifying, adorning, and augmenting it, the grand Business of a long and prosperous Reign. It was he who made its Port the Wonder of the World, and erected over a most magnificent Palace built on an
A 2 artificial

artificial Island, that celebrated *Pharos* of which Authors speak with such Rap-
ture and Amazement.

HIS Successors pursued the same Plan, that is to say, they improved and adorned *Alexandria* to the utmost of their Power, transferring hither by degrees all the *Greek Arts*, and erecting that celebrated Library which was at length increased to five, some say to seven hundred thousand Volumes, and which is affirmed to have perished by Fire when *Julius Cæsar* was in this City, tho' neither that Prince, nor the Consul *Hirtius*, who continued his Commentaries, say any thing of it. *Cleopatra*, the last *Greek* Sovereign of *Egypt*, exerted her utmost Force in order to excell all her Predecessors in magnificent Buildings, the Ruins of which (if they be truly the Ruins of her Palace which are commonly called so) remain to this Day.

AFTER *Egypt* became a Province of *Rome*, *Alexandria* of course declined from its former Grandeur, but remained still, as the *Roman* Authors frequently confess, the next City to *Rome*, containing not less than three hundred thousand free Citizens, and of all Sorts of Inhabitants, a Million at the least. Its Commerce, its
pleasant

pleasant and convenient Situation, its being the Metropolis of *Africa* after the Ruin of *Carthage*, drew to it such a Flux of Riches, and other Utenfils of Luxury, that, as *Quintilian* informs us, *Deliciæ Alexandriae*, the *Delights* of *Alexandria*, became a Proverb. Thenceforward it shared the Fate of the *Roman* Empire, or rather of the *Constantinopolitan*, of which it remained a Province 'till it was over-run by the *Saracens* in the *Caliphat* of *Omar*, when with all the rest of *Egypt* it fell into their Hands, and suffered from thence all the Calamities a barbarous Enemy could inflict, an Enemy equally cruel to Buildings and to People. This is to be understood of the Condition of this People at the Time of their Irruption into *Egypt*; for by degrees, when they were settled there, and tasted the Blessings of civil Government, Peace and Riches, they became quite another People.

HOWEVER, their Successors, who came thus to understand the Value of the *Greek* Learning, could neither restore the Buildings their Predecessors had overturned, or those innumerable Works of Literature which they had destroyed. For as all the Princes to whom *Alexan-*

dria had been subject endeavour'd to render it famous for being the Seat of the Muses as well as of Government, so the Libraries which they piqued themselves on erecting had all of them alike ill Fate. Of the first, Mention hath been made already, the second, begun by *Cleopatra*, and augmented by the *Roman* Princes and Governors, was I know not how destroyed by the Zeal of Christian Priests, from a Notion that heathen Learning must nourish heathen Superstition. What was saved from this general Wreck of Literature, fell into the Hands of the *Saracens*, who here, as well as at *Cairo*, heated their Ovens and their Bagnios with Heaps of invaluable Manuscripts. In the Wars, which almost continually vexed *Egypt*, after it fell under the Dominion of these new Masters, *Alexandria* suffered not a little; and at length one of the Successors of *Saladin*, as the *Europeans* call him, enclosed a Part of the City with Walls, which are yet standing, well fortified with Towers, after having demolish'd every thing without them, as well to prevent any Rebels from fortifying themselves amongst them, as to furnish himself

himself with Materials for the Works carried on by his Command.

I KNOW very well that many Travellers have reported, that the Walls now standing are those built by *Alexander*; but they are really what I say, as appears not only from the *Arabian* Historians, but from the Walls themselves, which are plainly composed in great measure of the Fragments of an ancient Building, and have in many Places *Arabick* Inscriptions, all of a Date inferior to that assigned for their Erection. Under the *Mamalukes* it is said, that the ancient *Alexandria*, or rather the magnificent Ruins of it, suffered new Outrages. These People, greedy of Money, and having strong Suspicions that the *Obelisks* they saw covered with *Hieroglyphics* were erected for no other Purpose than by their *Talismannick* Virtue to preserve the Treasures buried under them, broke and threw them down where-ever they could, and defaced all the Statues they met with, if they had the least Suspicion that they were hollow.

THE *Turks* since they became Masters, have acted upon the same wise Plan, and it is hard to say whether they have been more industrious in destroying the noble

Monuments of Antiquity, or careless in erecting publick Works themselves. The true Source of which left-handed Policy is this, that they look upon *Egypt* not as an Estate, but as a Farm, of which they may one Day lose the Possession; and therefore while they have it, they are for making as much of it as they can. For we are much in the wrong to suppose that the *Turks* are a dull, senseless People, whereas in Truth, they are quite otherwise; the Things from which we make such Inferences, have Causes that we don't suspect; and therefore in this Light they are not Fools, but we. It is true, that if we establish for our Rule this Maxim, *that such Things only as are virtuously done, are wisely done*, we shall condemn the *Turks*, yet may they not also pray Judgment against us on the same Statute. But if the Pursuit of Riches be an allowable End in them, as from our Practice it should seem we ought to admit, then I am afraid it will be found, they are at least as wise as ourselves. For not to ramble too far from my Subject here, in the Port of *Alexandria* the Grand Seignior acts with as much Policy as any *European* Prince, for he imposes Duties upon all foreign Commodities;

modities ; so that if his Subjects will deal in Superfluities, they must pay him, but he gives all manner of Encouragement for the vending the rich Commodities of their own Country ; whereby the Ballance of Trade is brought on their Side, and consequently the Well furnished with continual Supplies of Water, to be first suck'd up by inferior Spunges, and at last squeez'd at once into the *bottomless Cistern* of the *Imperial Treasure*, acquired by draining and employed in oppressing the People. Madness which would be incredible if it was not so common.

BUT to return to the City ; its ancient Magnificence appeared but in part from the noble Structures erected on the Surface, since it was wholly built on Vaults of stupendous Contrivance, and wonderful Beauty. As the Business of Navigation and Agriculture could not have been carried on without the many Canals above described, so their domestic Occasions required Supplies of Water nearer at Hand, and in Quantities proportioned to the Number of Inhabitants. Subterraneous Aqueducts furnished these, nay, and furnish them still, for there is not a Drop of Water in the Mo-

dern *Alexandria*, but what is drawn from the ancient Cisterns fill'd once a Year, by the rising of the *Nile*, towards which Time the Water remaining in these Repositories corrupting, renders the Air unwholesome, and the City very sickly.

THE Old *Alexandria* was a Square of about a League, but its Suburbs stretch'd very much towards the Tower of the *Arabs* on the one Side, and towards *Rosetta* on the other, surrounded on all Sides by pleasant Gardens, full of the most delicious Fruits. The Modern *Alexandria* is in a manner without Walls, stretched along the Sea-Side, and after gradually declining for a long Time, had well nigh sunk into a Village forty Years ago; but it is since much recovered, and continues daily to increase, Experience having taught the *Turks*, that nothing can be more advantageous than this, for the augmenting their Revenue.

THE most remarkable Things in this new City are, the Remains of those ancient Structures which are yet in a Condition of being considered. Among these, that which deserves first to be taken Notice of is, what the Christian Inhabitants stile the *Palace of the Father*
of

of *St. Katherine*, which is situated almost in the middle of the Space comprehended in the present Walls; a most pompous Colonnade of Pillars, no less admirable for their Workmanship, than for their extraordinary Height and Bigness, amuses the Eye of the Spectator; it extends at present 500 Feet, but Numbers of the Pillars are entirely demolished; some there are which retain half their ancient Height, and one only is left entire. Over-against these are found the Remains of another Range of Pillars, which heretofore fronted those before spoken of, whence it is probably enough conjectured, that they included a Space of Ground 500 Feet in Front, and 200 in Depth, in the midst of which it is thought there was a noble Fountain, as, from many concurring Circumstances, inquisitive Men think they have Grounds to affirm, that these were the *publick Baths* built by the *Romans*. Over-against this glorious Relique of ancient Architecture, stands one of the finest Churches in *Egypt*, formerly dedicated to *St. Athanasius*, now a *Turkish Mosque*; of the Inside of this we know nothing more than can be perceived through certain Openings over the Gates. Hence we
are

are enabled to say, that the Roof of it is supported by four Rows of Porphyry Pillars, as fair and beautiful as can be imagined. As to the Churches, or rather Chapels, in the Hands of the *Christians*, they are very far from being considerable, and as to the Port, all that it hath either of Safety or Beauty, it derives from its ancient Masters. At present there is a modern *Turkish* Fortification on the Island, where stood the ancient *Pharos*, the *Franks* call it *Farillon*; it is neither very strong, nor very beautiful, but serves well enough for the Purpose to which it is used. Here are two Ports, each covered by a Mole. That which is called the old Port is capacious as well as very commodious and safe, into which only the *Turkish* Gallies and other Vessels are suffered to come; as for the new Port, it is far from having any of these Advantages, tho' they might be procured to it if the *Turks* would be at any Expence, which is scarce to be expected.

To what has been said, I shall add only an Account of two Remnants of Antiquity more, the one within, the other without the Walls of *Alexandria*. The first the Obelisk, or as the *Franks*

Franks call it the *Aiguilla*, and our *Sailors* the *Needle of Cleopatra*. There is one standing, and another lying on the Ground. That which is upright is without a Pedestal, and in all probability there is a great Part of it in the Earth. It is four-square, pointed at Top, each Face is covered with *Hieroglyphics*, and the Stone of which it is made wonderfully beautiful; what is above Ground may be 56 Feet high. The other, which is almost buried in the Sand, lies about 12 Yards farther, and is evidently of the same kind. I have seen in other Parts of *Egypt* several of these *Needles*, and I think there is a Correspondence between the *Hieroglyphic* Figures on the Faces of them all; from whence I have been led to conjecture, that they were set up by the ancient Kings of *Egypt*, to make certain Things known to their Subjects for the common Good; for I cannot apprehend, that the *Egyptians* would expose any of the Mysteries of their Religion in the Highways; perhaps I may be mistaken, and perhaps a learned Man who should attempt to confute me, might be mistaken too; let us leave then these obscure Points

Points to Time, and the Antiquarians, who pretend to be of his Council.

THE other Antiquity is the famous Pillar of *Pompey*, which lies about half a Mile without the City, towards the Lake of *Mareotis*; this is at once the finest, and fairest Pillar, not in *Egypt* only, but in the Universe. I cannot take upon me so much as to conjecture whether there be or be not Foundation for the Title given it. Whenever it was erected, it certainly was the Work of a very great Architect, since it is alike pleasing to the Eye of every Beholder, and no Critic that I know of hath presumed to censure its Proportions, tho' it is not reducible to any of the Orders in Use amongst us. As to its Height, two *French* Engineers measured it, as each of them affirm'd, very exactly, while I was here. The one asserted it to be 94 Feet high, and the other 106. Both these People could not be right, by my Admeasurment it should be 110 of our Feet. A Mountebank who ascended this Pillar with marvellous Facility, found it hollow at the Top; it may be there was some Image fixed thereon when it was originally set up. The *Turks*, according to their

their old Custom, have been battering its Foundation, in order to look for Treasure, but without Success. One may guess from this Monument, how far the Skill and Address of the Ancients in these sort of Things transcends those of the Moderns; for I never heard any body pretend, that a Work of this kind could be executed by any Artist in *Europe*. As this Pillar is perfectly plain, it is reasonable to believe, that it was set up to perpetuate the Memory of some extraordinary Event, which makes the Learned so dubious as to the Propriety of the Name given it, since in this Sense it seems to correspond with it well enough, in other Respects the Pillar might be thought to suit better with the *Grecian* Times.

As to the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, I forbear speaking of them, till I come to speak of the People of *Egypt* in general. I shall only add, that our Sailors commonly call this City *Scanderoon*, in Imitation of the *Arab* Name *Scanderani*, which is a Translation of the *Greek* Name; a Liberty the more allowable in them, since the *Greeks* themselves used it very freely, in altering the Names of all the
Places

Places which fell under their Cognizance, either in their Wars or in their Travels.

WE left this famous Place, in order to travel by Land to *Rosetta*, having sent our Effects thither in a Bark by Sea; we had in our Company twenty-one Persons, and amongst them Dr. *Salviati*, who went to *Rosetta* on some Concerns of his Patrons. We past by a considerable Lake, out of which there is a Canal cut to the Sea. All the low Country lies much exposed to that Element, and we were informed, that it sometimes rushed in with incredible Fury. The *Doctor*, Mr. *Perez*, and some other intelligent Persons in our Company, gave it as their Opinion, that some Time or other this would be fatal, not only to the Country between these Cities, but to *Alexandria* itself. At that Time I said nothing, but having thoroughly considered the Thing, I came to entertain quite a different Notion, of which I still am, *viz.* That the Sea will lose Ground here instead of gaining it. To this I was first led by reflecting on what the Ancients have delivered, as to the growing of the *Delta*, by the continual Accession of Mud brought thither by the *Nile*. I
was

was confirmed in it, by comparing the Distances of Places, mentioned in ancient Authors, from the Sea, which I found to be much increased ; and as to the Certainty of this, again I thought that there was no room left for me to doubt, since several old Captains of Ships assured me, that when they first knew the City of *Rosetta*, that Part of it which was now half a Mile from the Sea, was within a quarter of it at most. Besides, it is not above sixty Years since *Rosetta* became a Port, on account of the Difficulty there was found in navigating Barks of considerable Burthen up the River to *Foube*, where the *Grand Seignior's* Officers of Revenue were formerly settled. But of this Subject enough.

FROM *Alexandria* to *Rosetta* are ten Leagues, which with some Difficulty we travelled in one Day, and took up our Lodgings in a publick Inn, from whence we removed to the House of a *Scotch* Merchant, where we were very much at our Ease, and Dr. *Salviati* with us, for the Time he staid, which was about three Weeks. Directly behind this House lay certain Gardens, more regular, and kept in better Order than

than any we had hitherto seen. This induced us to enquire of our Landlord to whom they belonged; he told us to one *Hassan a Moor*, who had retired thither from *Tetuan*, and who lived with such Lustre, that the *Arabs* said he had the Art of making Gold grow, a Conceit which the meaner sort of People take in a literal Sense, and which those of more Learning use to express the Art of Transmutation. It was not long before I obtained a better Account of this *Moor*, and of the manner by which he had acquired his Riches.

A *Spanish* Slave of his named *Matthew Vasquez*, about 70 Years of Age, but of a robust Constitution, and who had been 38 Years in Slavery, came to the House of a *Jew*, with whom I had some Dealings, and was easily persuaded to visit me at our Lodgings. He told me that his Master was the Son of a *Spanish Renegade*, who fled voluntarily from one of the *Spanish* Garrisons, in order to abjure his Religion, which he did publicly at *Tetuan*, and in the Space of a few Years, came to be a very considerable Person. He took the Name of *Ibrahim*, and being a strong well-made

made Man, and of an undaunted Courage, addicted himself to Piracy with astonishing Success. He married the Daughter of his Patron, who had given the first Rise to his Fortune; her Name was *Zaide*, and she was at once as handsome and as virtuous as an Angel; by her he had this Son *Hassan*, but lost her about a Year afterwards by the Plague, which carried off also three of his Concubines. For some Months after *Ibrahim* was very disconsolate, 'till hearing that a Neighbour of his, a *Moor* of great Quality, had a most beautiful Daughter, he would needs see her, which, by the Help of an industrious old Woman, he effected, being for that purpose placed on the other Side of a Hedge which surrounded her Father's Garden.

FATIMA, that was the Lady's Name, appear'd to the *Renegade* so charming a Person, that, by the Instigation of the old Woman, he instantly made his Addresses to her, offered her the richest Presents, and swore to marry no other Wife if she would consent to become his. *Fatima* was deaf to all his Intreaties, refused his Presents, and treated him for a long Time with the
most

most haughty Disdain. At length she sent him word by the old Woman, that she suspected he was still a Christian in his Heart, and that he kept up a Correspondence with his Family in *Spain*. *Ibrahim* answer'd, that he had indeed a Father, Mother, and two Sisters, living when he left *Europe*, but that he had never heard of them since ; to which *Fatima* reply'd, that as a Proof of his Love she expected he should bring them over to *Tetuan*, and that they should serve them as Slaves.

I B R A H I M was so drunk with his Passion, that he immediately order'd his Vessel to be got ready, and under the Favour of the dark Nights run over to the *Spanish* Coast, and landed as near as possible to his Father's House, which stood about fifteen Miles from *Gibraltar*. He immediately debarqued twenty Men, and having posted them at the Foot of a Hill, about a Mile from his Father's House, he went thither alone. Upon his Admittance he told his Family, that he, with six other Christian Slaves, had made their Escape from *Tetuan* ; that they had brought with them in their Bark a great Quantity of Gold and other Commodities of Value ;

Value; he therefore begg'd that they would go with him to bring off his Share, to which, after embracing him with the warmest Testimonies of Affection, they joyfully consented.

BUT as it required some Time for them to find Baskets and other Conveniencies for transporting these Goods, *Ibrahim* propos'd that his Father should go before, and offer'd to go with him in order to have the things set on Shore, if his Companions did not incline to land at the same Place. The poor old Man, not in the least suspecting his Son, readily yielded to his Request, and went with him towards the Sea-side. When they came to the Foot of the Hill, *Ibrahim* deliver'd his Father to his Crew, with Orders, if he made any Resistance, to cut his Throat; his Men, however, had more Humanity than himself, for notwithstanding the old Man cry'd out, they did not kill him, but gagg'd him as soon as they could. Not so soon, however, but that he alarm'd the Country; so that before they could reach their Vessel, they saw three or four hundred Men. Horse and Foot, between them and the Shore. Upon this they abandon'd their Prisoner,
and

and observing where their Enemies were thinneſt, made a brisk Puſh, and got to their Veſſel.

THE old Man finding himſelf at Liberty, quickly got the Gag out of his Mouth, and then told his Deliverers after what Manner he had been betray'd by his perfidious Son. Upon this Intelligence they poſted themſelves at the bottom of the Hill, till *Ibrahim* came with his Mother and Siſters, who ſuppoſing them to be his own Men, order'd them to carry thoſe Women to the old Man. *No thou Miſcreant ! cry'd his Father, they ſhall carry thee back to be burnt for a Traitor to thy Country, and thy Faith !* He was after a Time conducted to the Priſon of the Inquiſition at *Seville*, and there being at that Time a Project of making a Deſcent on *Africk*, he was offered his Life if he would abjure the Religion of *Mohammed*. To which he reply'd, *I ſcorn it, I will die a Moor for the Sake of the moſt lovely Lady in Africk.* To this Reſolution he adhered, and was accordingly burnt a Year afterwards, without any Signs of Remorſe, or of any Senſe he had of his Condition.

My

My Master *Hassan* was not above two Years old when his Father was taken Prisoner in *Spain*. He was taken care of by his Uncle on the Mother's Side, who was alike attentive to his Education, and to the Increase of his Fortune. When he attained the Age of twenty, he was settled in a House, married the Daughter of his Uncle, whose Name was *Dilferiba*, i. e. *the Ravisher of Hearts*, and they had eight thousand Sequins given them to begin the World with. *Hassan* fell to the same Trade which his Father had exercised ; and being full of *Moorish* Resentment, made frequent Descents on the *Spanish* Coasts, and brought away great Numbers of People, and much Booty. At length, his Uncle being suspected of an Intercourse with Prince *Gailand*, was put to Death, whereupon *Hassan* embarquing his Wife, four Female Slaves, myself and another, together with his own and his Uncle's Treasure, which had been confided to him, on board his Vessel, sailed hither under *Spanish* Colours, where he lives rather like a Prince than a private Man, being the Protector of the *Arabs* and *Moors*, and keeping a strict Correspondence with his Relations in *Barbary*,

Barbary, receives from them whatever is most saleable in *Egypt*, and sends them in Return the richest Commodities from hence. In order to this he travels four times a Year to *Cairo*, and resides there a Fortnight each Time.

FROM this Man, in the several Conversations I had with him, I learned abundance of curious Particulars with respect as well to *Barbary* as *Egypt*, he having spent a great Part of his Life in that Country ; but what I valued most was his Account of the Caravans which pass annually to and from *Cairo* to *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algiers*, *Fez*, and *Morocco* ; a stupendous March, not only thro' an uncultivated Country, but through burning Sands, absolutely void of Shade or Water, and yet far from being free from noxious Animals, which add to the other Plagues, more than sufficient to exercise the Patience even of an *Arab*. My Discourses with *Vasquez* take up an hundred Pages in my Diary, but I say no more of them here that I may pursue the Thread of my Narration.

AFTER the Departure of Dr. *Salvati* for *Alexandria*, I spent most of my Time with Mr. *Perez*, and this *Vasquez*, who came every Day to our House,
and

and brought us several Persons who sold us Curiosities at a reasonable Rate ; so that we quickly sent another Cargo to Mr. *Fetherstone*. One Day *Vasquez*, who was informed that I studied Physick, came earlier than usual, and desiring to speak with me, told me I must go with him that Moment to his Master. This I did not hesitate to do, though I had scarce dined, and the Weather was excessive hot. He conducted me to a back Door, which opened into his Master's Gardens, and striking cross them, brought me to a Summer-house, where his Master waited for me.

HE was a Man extremely well made, about thirty Years of Age, and had all the Politeness of an *European*. He spoke *Italian* and *Spanish* well, and *French* indifferently. He received me with great Civility, and after we had drank Coffee, enter'd upon the Business for which he had sent for me. He told me that his Wife was in a very bad State of Health, and that though he had had the best and most skilful in the Art of Physick, both Men and Women, (for Men and Women practise alike in *Egypt*, and the latter are thought to understand the Diseases attending their own Sex

best) his Wife grew daily worse, which induced him, on the Report of his Slave *Vasquez*, to desire my Assistance.

UPON inquiring of him as to the Symptoms of his Wife's Disease, I found that it was a complicated Case, arising from a Dropsy ill treated. He conducted me himself into an Apartment where the Lady was, whom I found about twenty-three Years old, a Native of *Sienna* in *Italy*, of an Olive Complexion, yet wonderfully beautiful, tho' not a little dejected. After encouraging her a little, and receiving an Assurance both from herself and her Husband, that she should observe an exact Method as to Eating and Drinking, I undertook, and happily effected a Cure in a very short Space. This procured me the Confidence and Favour of *Hassan*, the most generous *Moor* I had ever Occasion to converse with. His Mother's Brother, by whom he was brought up, had much Correspondence with the Christians, and taught his Nephew early or despise that Rudeness and Contempt which the *Moors* naturally have for all People of another Religion. He likewise engaged him to learn *Italian* and *Spanish* from his Slaves, as also to play on the Lute ;

Lute ; withal he instructed him in the Policy of their Country, and exhorted him, in case any Accident befel himself, to quit it as early as he could, and retire into *Egypt*, where he held a Correspondence with some of the *Arab* Princes.

HASSAN made the best Use of so happy an Education ; and having himself a great Genius as well as a deep Fund of Generosity and good Nature, he brought all the Instructions that he received from his Uncle to operate for his Advantage. Though he was but a young Man, he had establish'd an Intercourse unthought of before. For going to *Cairo* as often as the Caravans arrived from *Barbary*, *Nubia*, *Mecca*, or *Syria*, he drew the chief Merchants, the Beys or Princes of *Egypt*, and the petty Lords of the *Arabs*, to have a Confidence in him, and make use of him as a common Friend in all their Negotiations, whereby he secured to himself a powerful Interest as well as great Riches. He took care also to live upon mighty good Terms with the *Turkish* Governors, made annual Presents to the Bashaw at *Cairo*, and to his Officers, and secured the Friendship of every *Aga* he had Oc-

caſion to tranſact with, by the never-failing Method of gratifying him with Money.

HE did not, however, converſe much with any of the Inhabitants of *Rofetta*, being afraid leſt ſome of the Vice-Conſuls of the Chriſtian Powers ſhould penetrate the Methods by which he furniſhed the *Tuniſeens*, and other Piratical States with Ammunition, in which he had often Addreſs enough to make themſelves bear a Part. Having one Day talked to me pretty freely on the Subject of my Voyage to *Egypt*, he obſerved that it appeared to him, as well as to the *Turks*, a very whimſical Thing, that Men ſhould with ſuch Pain and Hazard to themſelves, make ſuch long Journies purely to look at the Ruins of antient Structures, and to carry home a few Medals, and ſuch like Curioſities. I took a great deal of Pains to remove this Notion out of his Head, tho' it was viſibly againſt my Inter-eſt, but to no manner of Purpoſe ; he remain'd firm in his firſt Sentiments, which he ſupported by ſuch Arguments as theſe : That Life was ſhort and uncertain, and that therefore Men ought not to waſte it as Children ſpend their Hours of Play

Play in picking up Bits of Metal, and broken Pieces of painted Earth, meerly to look upon them. That the Necessaries of Life were first to be sought, then its Conveniencies; and these being obtained, it was more reasonable to sit down and enjoy them, than to run up and down the World hunting for Baubles. That there were many useful Arts and Sciences highly profitable to the human Species still unperfected, which therefore he thought deserved our Attention much more than these Matters of Curiosity, which he said must have very little in them because he could not understand them; whereas he readily comprehended the Use and Service of other Things.

BUT when he was informed that I sent all my Collections to a Correspondent in *Italy*, who disposed of them in several Parts of *Europe*, he understood this to be highly reasonable. For, said he, whatever Men will buy is worth the buying for them. He gave me a great many Curiosities, and procured me others at very small Prizes, taking no more of me, than the Trifles with which he presented those who brought them to him, and who were

B. 3 glad,

glad, by this or any other Method; to recommend themselves to his Protection.

It happened, that as I visited him one Day, and he was shewing me several Things, that he received from the Upper *Egypt*, I took Notice of three Emeralds, small indeed, but of a Hardness and Beauty inexpressible, and far superior to any thing I had ever seen. I make no question but they were placed on purpose for me to look upon them; for as soon as I took them in my Hand, and began to consider them, *Hassan* fixed his Eyes full upon me, and did not withdraw them 'till I laid down the Stones. You *Franks*, said he, upbraid the *Turks* with Avarice, and yet you can see nothing valuable yourselves, but presently it takes up all your Thoughts: Tell me, what would you think of a Country where these were to be had in Plenty? I should think myself, said I, very happy in the Discovery of it, provided too many of them were not brought from thence. Well, replied *Hassan*, I will think of it, and some time or other, perhaps, I may talk to you further on this Subject. That some time or other, said I, must not be far distant, since

since within a very few Days I intend to set out for *Cairo*. Well, said he, I shall see you there, and it will better serve our Purposes to discourse of that Matter there than here. I would gladly have renewed the Conversation, but was afraid it might make him uneasy, and therefore I readily turned our Discourse to another Subject.

HE had often asked me about the Astrologers in *Europe*, and on my telling him that they were a Race of Cheats, and were only able to impose upon the Vulgar, he seemed amazed, and immediately enquired how it came to pass, that such as were so well acquainted with the Motions of the heavenly Bodies, as the *European* Doctors were, should yet know so little of this Art. I then told him plainly my Sentiments, that there was really nothing solid in this Art ; and that notwithstanding the Prepossession of the *Turks* and *Persians* in its Favour, it was, and had been always, rather a Species of Villainy than a Service. I never saw *Hassan* disturbed or angry upon any Occasion but this, I had no sooner done speaking, than looking upon me with an Air of Dis-

dain and Contempt, *Christian*, said he, I thought thou hadst been wiser, but I find there are Men every where, who believe just what they receive from their Priests ; I know Astrology is against thy Law, and therefore thou contemn'st it. In order to appease him, I assured him that was not the Case; for that in *Europe*, the far greater Part of the People were strongly prejudiced in Favour of Astrology. Why then, said he, art thou an Infidel? Dost thou presume to set thy own Wisdom above that Part of the World and this? With much ado I brought him to hear my Arguments against the Solidity of this Art; but they made no manner of Impression on him; he would needs have it, that the Disbelief of Astrology was a kind of Atheism, and in Effect denying the Providence of God. This Discourse had like to have been fatal to me, for, it seems, Astrology was his favourite Study, and whenever he had any leisure Moments, this and Chemistry were his only Care; but as yet he concealed his Affection to and Skill in these Arts from me, as from a Person full of Infidelity.

IN Order to regain his good Opinion, I bethought myself of enquiring whether he had never heard of *Geomancy*; and upon explaining what I meant, he was mightily surprized, not conceiving that this sort of Divination had ever been practised in *Europe*. But when I assured him it had, and that several Books had been written upon it, which however were scarce, and very secretly preserved, for fear of the *Inquisition*, he seemed mightily pleased, telling me he would give a 100 *Sequins* for a good Manuscript on this Subject in *Italian*. I promised him to write to my Correspondent, tho' I had previously settled the Matter in my own Head, having accidentally among my Books, the Treatise written by Dr. *Flood* on that delusive Art, printed at *Venice*, which I resolved to translate into *Italian* for his Use, tho' not without some Reluctance. I could not finish it before the Time came in which we were to set out for *Cairo*. When therefore I told my Leave of him, I told him that I had sent Instructions to *Alexandria* to dispatch the Book I had writ for after me, when it should arrive, to *Cairo*.

He thanked me, seemed mightily pleased, gave me Instructions how to find his House, and a Letter for an *Aga* of the *Fanissaries*.

In the beginning of the Month of *August*, we embarked at *Rosetta*, having hired a Boat to carry us and our Things, and a *Fanissary* to attend us. As we treated this Man with more than ordinary Generosity, he was on his Side very kind to us, and readily went ashore with us, where and when we pleased. All the Banks of the *Nile* up which we navigated, were covered with Villages so thick, that it looks almost like a continued Town, and as I have been informed, the Heart of the *Delta* is as thoroughly inhabited, there being a multitude of Canals, which serve not only to pass from one Place to another, but which also unite the two great Branches of the *Nile*, particularly one which is greater than the rest, called the Canal of *Rosetta*, whereby one crosses the *Delta* into the other Branch of the *Nile*, and then fall easily down it to *Damietta*.

At *Fezzara*, where we made some Inquiry after Curiosities, the People brought us some broken Stones, and
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counterfeit Idols, which we refused to buy ; our *Janissary* thereupon told us, that he would carry us to a Place where lately a great many of these Things had been discovered, and to which as yet no *European* had come. We readily accepted his Offer, and by his Direction the Master of the Vessel turned out of the *Nile* into a large Canal on the left, passing between two great Villages ; when we had sailed up this Canal about twenty Miles, the *Janissary* went ashore with us, and after walking three or four Miles, he brought us to a Place called *Balken*, which as he told us stood in the Center of the *Delta*, at equal Distance from *Rosetta*, *Damietta*, and *Cairo*. Here we first reposed ourselves at the House of another *Janissary*, and afterwards went with our Conductor, and three or four other People, to a Place without the Town, where ascending a little Eminence, we saw a sort of Well, into which we were all let down ; it was paved with *Roman* Brick, and appeared to have been anciently a very elegant Structure ; but these new Discoverers had broke to Pieces the Wall and Pavement, and besides it

was

was so damp, that it was with great difficulty we could keep the Lights which we carried down with us from going out. Mr. *Perez* therefore concluding we should make no great Discoveries, declined staying any longer. In our Return to *Balken*, we bought of those who went with us near a hundred Medals of different Sizes, and different Metals, that is, of Silver and Brass, of most of the *Roman* Emperors, from *Augustus* to *Valerian*; and of several Empreſſes, as also some fine Pieces of *Cornelian*, and an *Ametiſt*, on which was engraven the Head of the Empreſs *Agrippina*. The whole did not cost us twenty *Piaſters*. The next Day we returned into the *Nile*, and continued our Voyage to *Cairo*, without meeting with any thing remarkable.

IN ten Days after our Arrival in this City, where we received all imaginable Civilities from the *Aga*, to whom I was directed, my Patron *Haffan* himself arrived, and sent *Vasquez* immediately to find me out, and to conduct me to him. The first Thing he asked for was his Book; I told him I expected it every Day; he then fell to other Things, and

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at last asked me if I knew nothing of the great Art, by which I found he meant Transmutation. I told him ingenuously that I did not, but that I had a Memoir upon that Subject, which was held very curious by those who were well versed in Chemistry. He desired to see it, and I accordingly carried it to him the next Time I went to see him. It was the Paper I received from my good Friend *Pucci*; and as *Hassan* understood *Italian* very well, he read it with great Facility, and seemed to be charmed with it. When he had considered it a while, Do you believe, my Friend, said he, it is possible to make this Powder? I told him I could not tell, but that I had heard some very intelligent Persons affirm that it was. You begin, said he, to be somewhat less of an Infidel than you were; but I will tell you what will perhaps make you give more Credit to this Opinion,

My Uncle was acquainted with a *Frank* who had some of this Powder, tho', as he said, he knew not how to make it. The Method in which he used it was this; he took an equal Quantity of Gold Dust, and of fine Silver; he melted first the one, and having put into it a little

little of his Powder, he caused the other to be melted, and pour'd in also; when it was taken out, the whole Mass was Gold finer than any of your Coin. The Quantity he had of this Powder was but small, and when he died, which was at *Tunis*, he desired a Person in whom he confided, to carry it to my Uncle, which accordingly he did, and he actually performed the same Experiment therewith, as the *Frank* had formerly done. I did not shew any Signs of Disbelief, tho' I was exceedingly surpris'd to find such Notions spread into these Countries; and I have been since well informed, that there are abundance of Alchymists in *Persia*, and *Grand Tartary*, and above all in *China*, where it is common for Men to spend great real Estates in the Pursuit of these imaginary Treasures.

By the Way I must take Notice, that it is not impossible that the Story told by *Hassan* might be true, and yet that Powder is far from being the Philosopher's *Arcanum*; because it is certain, that a Powder capable of such a Transmutation, hath been, and may be made. As to the Method of projecting, by putting equal Quantities of Gold and fine Silver, it was in all likelihood no more than

than an Artifice, to give the greater Weight and Solemnity to the Experiment ; the Effence of which consisted in this. Some *Chemists* in *Germany* have found out a Method of concreting Gold, that is, of throwing off its grosser Parts, and retaining only the Effence of the Metal. We will suppose, that out of two Ounces of Gold, 10 Grains of this *Semen* could be extracted ; this then being put into a Crucible, wherein 2 Ounces of fine Silver melted were before, would produce 2 Ounces of Gold, which with some sort of Propriety might be stiled a *Transmutation*. But then this is an introductory Experiment only ; for it is plain, that the Transmutation is so far from being beneficial, that there is a considerable Loss thereupon, first in working upon the Gold, and secondly, of the whole Price of the Silver wrought upon. Yet am I persuaded, that it is a Powder of this Nature which hath given the greatest Reputation to *Alchymy*, a Study which so intoxicates the Head of those who profess it, that they take those for their Enemies who endeavour to undeceive them ; this, together with an Enthusiastic Opinion that this kind of Knowledge is bestowed by God, and that *Faith*
quoad

quoad hoc, is the most certain Means of obtaining it, keeps them everlastingly chain'd to the Furnace, till they have nothing left where with to make it smoke.

HASSAN's great Foible was his Love of the *occult Sciences*, of which I had the strongest Proof, when I presented him the *Treatise on Geomancy*, which I had translated into *Italian*, and illustrated with Notes, taken from the Works of *Cornelius Agrippa*, and Mr. *John Heydon*. He received it as a new *Revelation*, he studied it intensely, and in a short Time practised it exactly, preferring it greatly to the Method he had before used, and assuring me, that he would translate it into *Arabick*; which was far from giving me any Satisfaction, since I could not help thinking, that I had already committed a very great Fault, in thus condescending for the Sake of temporal Views, to further and support a superstitious Practice, which I knew to be such, and in myself condemned and despised. However I was constrained to conceal my Thoughts before *Hassan*, who like all Bigots, held it Impiety to question or suspect the Certainty of his darling *Sciences*; and I confess I did it the rather, because I saw myself now perfectly in his good Graces, and began to hope, that I should reap considerable Effects therefrom.

As the Weather permitted, and Occasion offered, I went with Mr. *Perez* to visit all the Curiosities, not only in the Neighbourhood of *Cairo*, but at a considerable Distance, and we were so lucky as to fall on a Method of buying Rarities, which stood us in great stead ; it was this, we constantly refused to buy any thing of a Person who had attempted to impose upon us; and we paid more generously than the *Franks* usually do, for such Things as were brought us in a fair Way, and of these we had as many, or rather more Offers, than we we knew how to comply with. For all these Things Mr. *Perez* and I traded out of the joint Stock ; but as to other Things, especially precious Stones, we made such Purchases as we thought fit at our proper Expence, and at our proper Risque. Mr. *Perez* was extremely well fitted for the Business he had undertaken ; he had as great a Propensity to the occult Sciences as any *Arabian* or *Turk* of them all, and understood them much better. This was sufficient to recommend him; so that except going now and then to the *French* Consul's, and a *Venetian* Merchant's, he was continually taken up with these Virtuosi. Amongst these was one
Solomon

Solomon Effendi, who passed for the most skilful Astrologer in *Cairo*; he even pretended to have a Power of compelling the Spirits of Persons departed to appear before him, and answer in any Language the Questions he proposed to them; he likewise boasted of mighty Secrets in Chemistry, which for a while took up Mr. *Perez's* Attention; but at length he was convinced that he was a meer Pretender, and at the Bottom knew little or nothing except how to amuse the People, and by a cunning Train of Questions to draw from themselves those Answers they expected from him. He likewise had some Acquaintance with a *Polish* Renegade, whose Name was *Mustapha*, who was become an *Aga* of the *Janissaries*, and very rich, and this by an Accident singular enough to deserve mention.

HIMSELF and his Sister were carried away by the *Tartars*, when they were about seven Years of Age, and were sold at *Constantinople*; the Girl growing up prov'd an exquisite Beauty, and falling by Purchase into the Hands of the Captain *Bashaw*, he became so much in Love with her, that he preferr'd her to all the Women he had. It so happenad, that on the Return of the *Bashaw* from mak-
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ing a Tour in the *Archipelago*, a black Eunuch who was with him, acquainted the *Polish* Lady that he had seen among the Slaves who rowed the Galley, one perfectly like her, and much of the same Age. This put her upon recollecting, and a Day or two afterwards she told the Eunuch that she remembered when she was taken out of her own Country, her Brother was taken with her, and that because he lay down, and would not follow the *Tartar*, he nipped a Piece out of his Ear. The black Eunuch taking Occasion to find out the Slave he had mentioned, examin'd him, and found in his left Ear the Mark. The Captain *Bashaw* thereupon immediately set him at Liberty, and having perswaded him to turn *Turk*, and recommended him to his Brother, who was then a *Sanjack* in *Egypt*; he by Degrees, and frequent Demonstrations of an extraordinary Valour, was raised to this Post, in which however he was not beloved, by reason of his Exactness in Point of Discipline. He was a Man of good Sense, tho' of no Learning, mightily addicted to Astrology, and furiously zealous for the Religion which he had embraced, whether thro' Ignorance or Policy, I am not able to determine.

SOME

SOMETIMES we went attended by a *Janissary* to visit the *Monks*, if I may be allowed to call them so, who live in the Skirts of *Cairo*, and are indeed the most learned of any *Mohammedans*. These by the *Arabians* are called *Dervises*, concerning whom our Travellers fall frequently into Mistakes, by confounding them with the *Santons*, from whom in reality they differ only as much as a wise Man does from a Fool. In the Road which leads to *Suez*, there is a Monastery, wherein live between 30 and 40 of these *Monks*, who spend all their Time in Prayer, in Study, or in manual Labour. When they go abroad they walk two and two, but then they generally seek out solitary Places, and they seldom enter the Cities, or any of the Villages about them. They are remarkably kind to, and fond of the Conversation of *Franks*, especially such as have Learning, and are not Priests. With these they converse freely on all Subjects, particularly Religion, of which they think as freely as any People in the World. All their Discourses are either of Divinity or Philosophy; sometimes they dispute concerning the Immortality of the Soul, at others of the apparent Justice of Providence; most

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of them have much higher Ideas of JESUS CHRIST than are common amongst the *Turks*; and in general these Men greatly detest that Impurity of Manners which prevails so much among those of their Religion. In their own Conduct they are most exemplary, meek, pious, charitable, and continually ready to do any good Office that is desired of them.

As to the *Santons* again, they are a sort of Hermits living singly in Caves or Woods, and coming frequently enough like Beasts out of their Dens to run through Villages and Cities. They are most of them really, or in Shew at least, dementated, which amongst the *Turks* is a strong Sign of Sanctity. They enter what Houses they please, seat themselves without Ceremony, say what they will, eat and drink whatever they can lay Hands on; and all this is taken in good Part. They carry their Brutality so far as to lay hold of Women, and deflower them in the open Streets, but above all, they distinguish themselves by a furious Hatred to Christians, whom they will sometimes wound or kill in publick Places, and this with Impunity; so that it is always a prudential Maxim to keep out of these Fellows Way.

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ONE need not wonder so much at this Superstition among the *Turks*, if one recollects that the same Humour prevailed among the ancient *Greeks*, who fancied that there was something of Divinity in the Answers given by Idiots. To say the Truth, almost all the Notions of Divination amongst the Ancients or Moderns are as whimsical as this, and as much irreconcilable to good Sense; however, in this Case, let us try to reconcile it. A Man quits that Guide God has given him, his Reason, and what then? Why he listens to those who have not the Use of Reason. Methinks the Change is natural enough; perhaps it would appear more so if we could compare enough of these Predictions with their Events. In *Europe* a Man who loses his Senses is sent to a Prison; in *Asia* and *Africk*, he passes for a Saint; these are certainly Extremes. In *Europe* we degrade human Nature by our treating Madmen like Beasts; in *Asia* and *Africk* Men degrade themselves into Beasts by suffering themselves to be mal-treated by those who are no longer on a Par with them. None of these Evils could possibly happen if we listened to the Dictates of Nature, which never incline us either to injure others, or to submit tamely

tamely to Injuries which it is in our own Power to prevent.

ABOUT the Middle of the Month of *March* we received from *Alexandria*, by Means of a Vessel arrived there from *Leghorn*, a Packet from Mr. *Fetherstone*; it contained a Letter from him to Mr. *Perez*, another directed to us both, and a third addressed to me. The first, I suppose, related to the private Affairs of my Companion; the second brought an Account of the Produce of what we had consigned to him, with two Memoirs inclosed, one concerning the Value of Mummies, the other relating to the Choice of Medals. Mr. *Fetherstone* observed, that the Humour of forming Cabinets, and making great Collections of Curiosities of all Sorts increased daily, not only in *Italy*, but in *France*, and in the *North*; so that provided they were judiciously collected, all Sorts of Rarities might, by a prudent Management, be disposed of to a greater Profit than any Merchandize whatsoever. In my Letter was inclosed some Remarks on the Value of colour'd Stones, wherein amongst other things, my Friend noted, that the most judicious Persons were at a Loss as to the Ground of that Distinction

tion which had hitherto been made between Oriental and Occidental Emeralds, there being a great Doubt whether there were in Truth any Oriental Stones of that Sort. That, however, it was held reasonable to preserve the Distinction, because it was evidently founded in Nature, there being one Kind of Emerald harder, brighter, and clearer, than those commonly brought from the *West-Indies*; which kind was yet in great Esteem, though the other, by being become common, were much sunk in their Value. At the same time we received certain *European Goods*, some Toys, and other Curiosities.

AMONG these was a Gold Watch made at *London*, which struck the Hour and half Hour; this I carried to my Patron *Hassan*, who was extremely pleased with it, and who for it and the Manuscript of *Geomancy* gave me the three small Emeralds I spoke of, which were worth 250 Sequins, or better. As soon as an Opportunity offered, I sent two of these to Mr. *Fetherstone*, assuring him, that they were of that kind which were stiled Oriental. The next time I went to visit *Hassan*, who was just returned from *Rosetta*, he opened to me the Design

sign he had formed when I had first Admittance to him, and of which, though I did not apprehend them, he had given me frequent Hints since. At this Visit he took Notice to me of the insatiate Avarice of the *Turks*, and of their expecting annually greater and greater Presents for the Favours he received from them, which in the End, he said, would make it impossible for him to continue longer in *Egypt*. He spoke next of the Difficulty of retiring from thence without leaving the best Part of his Effects behind him; and at last, as if he had been weary of this Discourse, and intended to have talked of somewhat else, he asked me what I thought of the Emeralds I had had of him, and whether larger ones of like Beauty were not valuable in *Europe*? I told him they were, but that they were not easily to be had. I know it, reply'd he, and I know both what they are worth and how to dispose of them; and if I knew a Man whom I could trust, perhaps I would say that I know where to find them. I then began to apprehend what it was he aimed at. I told him that I did not doubt, that after having so long and so happily managed so extraordinary a

Commerce, he knew many valuable Secrets, and also a great many Persons to whom they might be confided. You are mistaken, my Friend, said he, I scarce know any of the former, and for the latter I know none. Our *Arabs* and *Moors* know perfectly well their own Affairs, and how to manage them; there are also among them Men of great Probity; but, with respect to the Business I would have performed, there are none of them fit to be employed. There is shortly a Caravan to set out for *Syria*. Under pretence of sending certain Commodities therewith, I can send some of my People with six or eight Camels laden with Money, if you will go with them to *Suez*, where, on presenting a Letter which I will give you to an *Arab* Chief, who lives not far from thence, he will shew you some of these Stones, and you will, no doubt, make the best Bargain for me you can. I consent also that you shall employ as much Money of your own as you please in the same Way. I immediately accepted this Proposal, without well weighing the Consequences of trusting my self alone with the Dependents of a *Moor*, People with whom no

Frank

Frank in *Cairo* would have ventured himself in the Desert. But Avarice, like all other Passions, so choaks up the Passages of the Understanding, that no Thoughts which wear not its Livery can have Entrance.

WHEN I had once taken this Resolution, I endeavoured as studiously to conceal the Motives thereto from Mr. *Perez* and our Servant, as if they had been my Enemies; and why? because I knew them too well to believe they would ever suffer me to expose myself to so imminent a Danger. I provided, therefore, privately, two hundred Sequins in Gold; and having informed Mr. *Perez* that I had a mind to travel to *Suez*, he at first opposed it; but when he saw I continued firm in my Resolution, he yielded to it, and assisted me in providing for my Journey. The Reasons I offered to him were, that I had heard many valuable Commodities were to be bought there; that I was in hopes of picking up Curiosities which might escape us in this part of *Egypt*; and that I had an earnest Desire to look upon the Red Sea. While I waited for the Departure of the Caravan, my Thoughts were so much disturbed with the Ideas of this Journey, that I found it very dif-

ficult to sleep, and was thereby much incommoded.

OF this I one Day complained to *Hassan*, who immediately rallied me thereupon, as a Physician of small Experience, or at least as one who did not care to practise much upon myself. He then asked me if I had not yet learned the *Turkish* Method of calming the Mind. I thought at first he meant Opium, or some other Drug of that Sort ; but he presently called for a young Man, and, as soon as he appeared, ordered him to read where he left off the Night before. The Lad took up a Book, and did as he was directed ; *Hassan* explaining to me every Period. When the Boy had done reading, *Hassan* raised several Questions on the Story we had heard ; and perceiving that my Humour was quite changed, You see, said he, my Friend, that we are not such Barbarians as many of the *Franks* believe us. It is indeed the worst Property your People have, that they are extremely vain and conceited, wedded to their own Customs, and yet provoked to see others tenacious of theirs. I know that many *Franks* laugh at our Histories, and at this Method of soothing our Cares ; yet I conceive that it is

as natural and as innocent as drinking great Quantities of Wine, or Gaming, which are your common Diversions. And though our Histories differ much, as I am informed, from yours, yet that is no Reason that they should be either fabulous or foolish. Our Manners have always differed, as also our Methods of conducting War and Peace, our Learning and our Pleasures. Why then should our Histories be like yours? Or why should they be despised for being unlike them? Is not this a Mark of your Vanity and Pride, rather than of your Knowledge or Politeness? I could not help admitting that he had Reason for what he said; and I do confess that there is to me nothing more strange, than that our Writers of Travels should censure the *Turks* for their Inclination to hear Tales and Stories read to them at their Leisure Moments, when at the same time if this very Inclination did not prevail among Christians, their Books could not be read at all. How easily do we see Motes in others Eyes, without minding the Beams in our own?

THE Book which the Servant of *Hafsan* read had for its Title *Tarik-al-abbas*, i. e. The History of the *Abassides*. The

Story that he read was this. The famous *Caliph Al-Mamon* had for his Uncle one *Ibrahim*, the Son by the Mother's Side of a black Slave, a Man of a dusky Countenance, a little unwieldy, but of great Parts, generous, good-humoured, a great Lover of Music, and one who had an excellent Voice. It so happened that the *Caliph*, by a singular Strain of Justice, which probably never enter'd the Head of any Prince but himself, declared for his Successor the eldest of the Family of *Ali*, conceiving him to have a just Right to the Throne; and this he did in Prejudice to his own Children, and all his Relations. The Family of *Abbas* were not in the Humour of doing Justice at the Expence of that great Power which they had got into their Hands. They therefore took Advantage of a Meeting they had at *Bagdat*, and having solemnly deposed *Al-Mamon*, elevated *Ibrahim* his Uncle to the *Caliphate*. This Prince reigned upwards of two Years with great Mildness, and much Applause; at the End of that Space *Al-Mamon* came at the Head of a great Army to besiege *Bagdat*. *Ibrahim* finding himself too weak to resist his Nephew, abdicated the Government, and
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for some Time hid himself amongst his Friends; but the *Caliph* having given strict Orders to search for him, and having promised a vast Reward to the Person who should discover him, he was at last taken, and delivered to *Al-Mamon*. As soon as the *Caliph* knew that his Uncle was taken, he sent for *Achmet*, his Grand Vizir, and asked him what he should do with him. *Father of the Faithful*, answered the Minister, *if thou shouldst put him to Death, thou wouldst therein follow the Example of many great Princes; but if thou shouldst pardon him, and take him into Favour, thou wilt leave thy Example to all that are to follow thee.* The *Caliph* smiled, *I had already determined*, said he, *to receive him not as the Usurper of my Throne, but as the Brother of my Father.* Having said this, he ordered *Ibrahim* to be admitted, and having embraced him cordially, they supped together that Night.

WHEN the Repast was finished, *Uncle*, said the *Caliph*, *one good Turn deserves another; I have freely pardoned you, tell me then frankly the most extraordinary Adventure that hath befallen you during the Time you hid yourself.* With all my Heart, said *Ibrahim*. You must know that I

made it a Rule with me to lye but one Night in one Place, and the Time at which I chose to retire from my Lodgings was about Noon, when there are but few People in the Streets. One Day when I had thus sallied out, and was looking for a fresh Place of Refuge, I found myself over-against a House, the Shop of which was shut up, and the Master was standing at the Door, a Man of a dusky Complexion, flat Nose, fat, and not unlike myself. I asked him if it was not possible for me to repose myself a little in his House; he answered me very civilly in the affirmative, conducted me to an Apartment which lay quite behind, and having desired me to make myself perfectly easy, shot through the House out of the Door, and locked it behind him. I confess his Conduct made a greater Impression upon me than his Advice. I took it for granted he was gone to call the Guards, and I spent the Moments very restlessly 'till his Return. It was not long before he came back loaded with Victuals, and attended by a Man who brought a Bed, Coverlid, and other Things. I thought, said the Man, it was not proper to serve you with what others had used, and therefore have bought

bought every thing new for you ; I get my Living as a *Barber*, but I endeavour to live like a good Man ; therefore set your Mind at Rest, and when you find you have a Stomach let us eat together and be merry. The Behaviour of the Man corresponded so exactly with his Language, that I could not help giving Credit to him, and therefore, as soon as I had composed myself a little, we spread the Table, and made a very hearty Meal. While I was eating, the *Barber* asked me if I did not sometimes drink Wine ; I told him I did ; and he immediately produced some as good as could be wished. When we had finished our Repast, my Host entreated me to grant him one Favour ; I told him I would with all my Heart ; then presenting me a Lute, This, said he, is a good Instrument ; but to render its Harmony compleat, it should be accompanied by a Voice like yours. This surprized me exceedingly, and I could not help asking, how he came to imagine that I had so good a Voice ? My Lord, said he, you cannot be concealed, I know that you are *Ibrahim*, the Uncle of our *Caliph*, and that he has promised 100,000 Pieces of Silver for discovering where

you are. There needed no more than this ; I instantly took the Lute, and accompanied it with my Voice. The *Barber* was mightily pleased, and when I had done singing, offered to sing himself if I would accompany his Voice with the Lute, to which I readily yielding, he performed with incredible Sweetness, and I asked with Astonishment where he had learned those *Airs*, but he easily satisfied me, by informing me that he had lived for some Years with *Moussouli*, the most excellent Musician of our Age.

THE next Day, when at my usual Time I was about to depart, I offered my Landlord a Purse of Gold as a Reward for his Kindness and Fidelity, but he refused it with an Air of Anger and Disdain. *How odd, my Lord, said he, is your Behaviour ! you see I have done every thing in my Power to discharge what the Laws of Hospitality require, and you would rob me of the Fruits of all my Pains, by treating me as if I kept an Inn.* This, said *Ibrahim*, was the most extraordinary Event which befel me while I suffered under your Displeasure. The *Caliph* was extremely pleased with this Recital, and lived thenceforward with his Uncle, in the strictest Friendship to the Day of his

his Death, and left him as a Counsellor to his Successor.

FROM this Time forward I took the Advice of my Patron, and whenever I found myself uneasy and incapable of Repose, I instantly had recourse to one of the many Books of entertaining Narrations which are to be met with in this Country, most of the Oriental Histories being indeed no other. There are many in *Arabick*, but the best of these sort of Writings are in the *Persian* Language. This, if I may be allowed the Phrase, is the *Court Language of the East*, as the *Arabick* is the Learned, so that we may compare the former to the *French*, and the latter to the *Latin*, without a tolerable Understanding of both which, there is no passing for an able Man. In *Egypt*, such as apply themselves to Study, take Care first to acquire the *Arabick*, then the *Persian*, and lastly the *Türkish* Language in Perfection; then they proceed to the Sciences, of which they have Systems as regular, their Method of teaching considered, as ours. Learning is however very expensive, because they have nothing but Manuscripts, from which they will hardly be beaten by any Reasons that we can offer them, since
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transcribing Books is a great Trade, employs many Hands, and is the first Reward of Learning, by producing to a diligent Person, and a good Scribe, a Livelihood on the Spot. Above all I think their Dictionaries are dear, the best and most comprehensive cannot be bought under 100 *Piafters*, not but sometimes Manuscripts are to be met with pretty cheap. Many of the Learned boast of their Secrets in Physic and Chemistry, but if they have any, they are very tenacious of them, and they frequently prove but Trifles when they are known. I bought three Secrets for fixing Mercury, two of them were absolutely false, and the third fallacious ; for after three Weeks, the Mercury became fluid again by the meer Operation of the Air. As soon as I was acquainted with *Hassan* so far as to converse with him about these Things, I received from him a fourth Method of performing the same Thing, viz. by boyling Mercury in the Juice of the Herb *Lunaria*, called by the *Greeks* *Sellenitis* ; but I never made the Experiment, because I have Reason to think, that this Notion is built on the Doctrine of Signatures, which I confess I do not much esteem, because I scarce comprehend

hend it at all ; and I am persuaded, that in most of the Instances which are produced to favour it, those who produce them are mistaken. But enough of this.

IN the Beginning of the Month of *April*, the Caravan set out, and on the 3d Day of the same Month I departed from *Cairo*, attended by two *Arabs*, who were privately recommended to me by *Hassan*. Mr. *Perez*, two *Italian* and three *French* Merchants, with *Antonio*, came to see me on my Way, and I observed, that Mr. *Perez* when he took Leave of me, was under an extraordinary Concern. As for poor *Antonio*, he was all in Tears. All that Day we travelled through a sandy Plain, every Grain of which seemed to be perfect Crystal ; so that the Reflection of the Light from thence exceedingly hurt my Eyes. In the Evening we overtook six Camels, with several *Arabs* who belonged to them, and a Man who immediately saluted me, told me his Name was *Morat*, and that he was my Slave. At first I did not understand him, but he soon let me know that he belonged to my Patron *Hassan*, and that the Lading of these Camels were to be disposed of by me, according to a Letter of Instructions which he delivered to me.

We slept together under a Tent, but found the Night excessively cool. Our Supper was very light, consisting only of Dates, and dried Fruits. As for the *Arabs* they mixed some Water and Flour, and having kneaded it into a Paste, left it on a Cloath to heave while they lighted a Fire, then throwing it on the Embers, and turning it often, at last they took it off half baked, kneaded it again in Salt and Oyl, and breaking it into little Pieces, eat it as comfortably and as merrily as if it had been the finest Provision in the World. The *Moor* entertained me the first part of the Night with many singular Stories of the Riches of *Egypt*, which he said were buried in all those Vaults, and under all the Needles, about which the *Franks* were so curious; he also apprehended that our copying Inscriptions was meerly with a View to discover the Contents of the Places from whence they were taken. He likewise seriously assured me, that our Friend *Hassan* had a Book containing an Inventory of all the hidden Treasures in *Egypt*, with Copies of the *Talismans* by which they were secured, and an Account of the manner by which their Force might be dissolved. I confess at
 this

this Time I thought all he said the Effects of pure Imagination ; but I have been since informed, that there is in reality a Book of this sort, and that some Copies have been carried into *Europe*.

THE fourth of *April* we continued our Journey slowly, pleasantly, and with great Unanimity amongst ourselves, for I went into all the Folly of the *Arabs*, and listened attentively to every thing they told me, as if I had regarded all their Sayings as the most authentick Oracles. We slept that Night on a little Slip of Land, on which there was Grass, and where a few Sheep were feeding. I tasted that Grass out of Curiosity, and found it brackish ; I bought one of the Sheep and gave it to the *Arabs*, who dressed it after their manner ; I eat of it, and found it very good. Upon cutting up a Turf it appeared that the Earth was wonderfully charg'd with Nitre, I tasted that too, but excepting its Coldness, it left no Relish on the Palate at all.

THE fifth, we jogg'd on soberly as before, my *Arabs* advising me to walk sometimes by the Side of the Camels, which Change of Posture refreshed me exceedingly. We dined in a Valley, and as I apprehended, should have supp'd
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and lain in one; but either I mistook them, or our Guides themselves were mistaken, for we were obliged to sleep in the Plain, and I found the Air very nipping, tho' the Day had been hot. We eat at Night some Sallad, which we pick'd by the Way, and found it very cool and refreshing.

THE sixth, we began to travel early, and three Hours before Noon came to the Foot of the Mountains. They make a strange Figure, many of them being hollow, as if Channels of Water had run under them; and to say the Truth, the Valleys we met with seemed to have been formerly the Beds of little Brooks. In the Afternoon we descended again into a great Plain, which extends quite to the *Red Sea*.

THE seventh, we arose early, and travelled very hard, in order to be at our Journey's End that Evening, which we with much Difficulty effected; but as it was late in the Evening before we came in sight of *Suez*, and as the *Arabs* never enter Towns, I chose to remain with them under their Tents, with which they were mightily pleased; for they esteem nothing so much as a ready Conformity to their Customs.

THE

THE next Day I went with my *Moor* to *Suez*, who conducted me to the House of a Person who corresponded with *Hassan*, and who received us with all imaginable Kindness and Respect, and dispatched, as soon as we arrived, his Son to carry Advice to the *Bey* of our Arrival. We remained with this Man two Days, in which Space I easily took a View of the Town or Port of *Suez*, than which nothing can be conceived more contemptible in its Appearance, or of higher Consequence in its self. It stands about a Mile from the Sea, without Fortifications, and with a very indifferent Garrison. There were at this Time three Ships there, one *Turkish*, one *Arabian*, and one *Indian* Vessel, a heavy, clumsy, ill-built Thing, fit only for those Seas, where upon the least Squall of Wind they run into Port, and are sometimes six Months in making a Voyage of a Week. Here are however vast Magazines of rich Goods, and it is wonderful that this Port being in the Hands of a Potentate who loves Money so well, is not made more beneficial, tho' as Things stand, he raises a vast Revenue from it. But what to me appears still more amazing is, the want of Attention among the
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Christian Traders ; for nothing can be plainer than that the settling a Factory here would be of prodigious Consequence, and might in some measure alter once again the Trade of the *Indies*. Land Carriage by Camels is very easy and cheap, and the Distance between *Suez* and *Damietta* not above 130 Miles ; so that for ought I perceive, *Indian* Commodities might be carried from thence to *Marseilles* in three Weeks, or a Month at farthest. I know very well that there is much Difficulty in treating with the *Turks* about altering old Customs, but I know full as well that there is no Custom they will not alter, for the Sake of getting by it. But this by the way, having in another Place considered this Matter more at large with a View to the Enlargement of our *English* Commerce, which publick Ministers treat as Men of Quality do their Wives, which much outward Respect, and very little real Affection, often throwing away twice as much in their private Pleasures as would be necessary to fulfil all the Ends, which, if it were not for Expence, they pretend they would make it their Glory to obtain, as if every *Mistress* had a Right to be profuse except the *Publick*.

THE

THE *Turk* at whose House I was, had better Notions of Trade than are common to People of this Nation, which without question was the Reason that *Hassan* chose him for his Correspondent. He shewed me a great many curious Things, and amongst others a Drawer of small Pearl, which were very perfect, and were all bored; and therefore he valued them at a high Rate, Pearls being grown scarce of late Years at *Suez*, tho' the grand Fishery for them is in the *Red-Sea*. He said the *Arabian* Ladies were passionately fond of them, and making use of them in Embroideries occasioned their bearing a much higher Price here than in *Europe*, where they were suddenly grown into Disesteem. To say the Truth, I perceived plainly, that as to valuable Commodities which lay in little Room, they could not be bought to any great Advantage; but then again, as to more bulky Wares, very large Profit might without doubt be made upon them. *Isouf Aga* had a very convenient House, tho' it made but a very mean Figure. In an outward Apartment there was a Fountain of Water, which in those Countries affords peculiar Pleasure to the Eye, at the same time that it is of the greatest

greatest Use; this Apartment was neatly paved, and lined with a kind of Mats chequer'd Green and Straw Colour. Behind it was the Apartment in which he received Company; it was sprinkled with sweet-scented Waters, and he was served with Coffee and Tobacco of a kind superior to any thing I had ever tasted. His Coffee was roasted, ground, and boyled, in the Space of 7 or 8 Minutes; so that it had an Oil upon it extremely grateful to the Taste, and comfortable to the Head. His Tobacco was made up into Rolls strongly twisted, so mild and pleasant to the Taste, that I thought some peculiar Art had been made use of in curing it; but he assured me, that it was the natural Flavour of the Leaf, which he said grew in *Arabia*, but my *Moor* affirmed the contrary, and I believe he was in the right.

In Discourse the *Aga* acquainted me, that he had a young Son, whose Head was much out of Order at the Full and Change of the Moon. I desired to see the Child, and after having examined him strictly, as to the Nature of his Complaints, I found Means by a Snuff to discharge a great quantity of fetid Matter by the Nose, whereby the Child was immediately

immediately relieved, and I gave the Father Directions how to proceed in case the Disorders should return, together with some Observations as to the Diet and Exercise of the Child, till such time as his Constitution was thoroughly settled. In return the *Aga* made me a Present of several Curiosities, and of a Quantity of Papers which had belonged to a *Frank* who died at his House. He could not tell of what Nation he was, tho' by his Papers it should seem he was a *Frenchman*, by Profession he was a *Surgeon*, and had lived in *Ethiopia* upwards of 25 Years, from whence with some Difficulty he had escaped to *Suez*, in hopes, without question, that from thence he might find a Way of returning into *Europe*. This Man on Account of his Profession was admitted into the House of the *Aga*, and remained there three Months, most of which Time he was on a declining Condition, and at length died with great Composure of Mind. What Effects he had, which I could not find were very valuable, came into the Hands of his *Host*, who not being able to make any use of his Papers, laid hold of this Opportunity of obliging me; which he did very effectually, there being

being in them abundance of curious Observations, with which otherwise I could never have been acquainted.

THE Messenger he had dispatched to the *Bey*, being returned with an Account of the Place where we might find him, and with an Order that we should immediately attend him, it was agreed that the very next Day we should set out. I would have been glad to have been exactly informed whither we were to go, or at least how far, but the Messenger declined giving me any Answer to either of these Questions, only he told us in general, that he would conduct us as safe and as speedily to the *Bey* as we could desire.

On the 10th of *April* in the Morning, we returned to our *Arabs*, and about nine o' Clock set out, our Guide being mounted on an *Arabian* Courser, and all the rest of our Train on Camels. We travelled all that Day towards the Mountains, and encamped in the Evening near the Foot of them. The next Day, about Noon, we reached them, and having marched very slowly through a narrow troublesome Road, we passed the Evening near the Ruins of an ancient Edifice. I went accompanied by our Guide, and
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by the Moor *Morat*, to take a View of them. They were of considerable Extent, and seemd to have consisted of a Square composed of smaller Buildings in the same Form with that in the Center, which was still pretty entire, and which was therefore the chief Object of our Curiosity. It was built in the Form of a Bee-hive, and might be about a hundred and eighty Feet in Height. There was an Entry, but it was quite choaked up with Sand, and we had not Time to let the *Arabs* remove it, which otherwise might easily have been done. I was assured, that in the Inside of this Building there was a large Hall, and in the Center of it a Stair-case descending into another Hall underneath, from whence there were Galleries of Communication, which led to all Sides of the Squares. All these Structures were built of that which is called *Thebaic* Marble, or the Stones hewed out of those very Rocks through which we travelled. Early the next Morning we set out again, and soon enter'd a large plain Road cut with infinite Labour in the Rock, in which we travelled all that and the next Day.

ON

ON the 14th, about two in the Afternoon, we turned off on the right, and having without much Difficulty descended the Mountains, we came to the Habitation or Palace of the Bey *Mebemed*, to whom being presented by our Guide, we were very graciously received, and had the Honour of eating with him. At Supper he only enquired generally of the Health and Welfare of *Hassan*, whom he stiled his Brother, and of whom he spoke with the warmest Tokens of Affection. At parting he told us that he would speak to me the next Day on the Business of my Journey. Accordingly the next Morning, after I had eaten some dried Fruits and Bread, which were brought me by an *Abyssine* Slave, together with a pleasant kind of Sherbet, I was conducted to a Summer-house, where the *Bey* sat on a Sofa smoaking. He was upwards of fifty Years old, well-shaped, and a venerable Person in his Aspect. He treated me with much Civility, and after some Discourse on different Subjects, he asked me whether *Hassan* had not charged me with another Letter than that which I had given him the Night before. I told him he had, but that my Instructions were not to part with it
 'till

till he had solemnly promised not to discover its Contents. This he readily complied with, and I thereupon immediately put the Letter into his Hand. He read it with some Emotion, and when he had read it, continued for some time silent and thoughtful. At length he renewed the Conversation.

FRIEND, said he, *Hassan* need not have commanded thee not to part with his Epistle till I had promised to conceal its Contents. He knew well enough that I dare not mention them ; and I suppose he knows thee very well, otherwise he would not have put my Safety and his own into your Hands : Tell me, therefore, how you became acquainted with him ; how long and how far you have served him. Upon this I entered into a genuine Detail of my Correspondence with *Hassan*, and did not fail to mention the Book I had procured him from *Europe*, and our Discourses on Chemistry, in hopes that this might be the Foible of *Mehemed*, as well as of *Hassan* ; in which I happened to judge right.

THE *Bey* heard me with great Attention, and without once interrupting me while I was speaking, but he kept his Eyes very steadily fixed upon me ; and

when I had finished my Narration, told me he was glad that *Hassan* had sent him so intelligent a Person, and that he would take another Opportunity of conversing with me upon these Subjects. I was then conducted back to my Apartment by the Slave, who had attended me the Night before, and who in my Absence had brought into my Room a Chair, a Table, and some other Utenfils necessary to a *European*. This Slave was about thirty Years of Age, extremely diligent, modest and docile ; so that he furnished me with whatever I asked for, and informed me of such Things as I thought fit to ask about, with a great deal of Frankness. I acted, however, with great Caution, on Account of what the *Bey* had said, which to me implied little less than that I was upon my good Behaviour, and that according as he conceived of my Conduct, he should either trust me, or provide for his own and his Friend's Security at my Expence.

AT Noon we eat together with *Morat*, and two other Persons; in the Evening he sent for me, and we had a long Conversation, wherein I discovered that he was a universal Scholar, a Thing not so rare as we imagine among the *Arabs*, especially

those of Quality, such as him of whom I am speaking, whose Ancestors had been immemorially Lords or Governors of this Part of *Egypt*, and were held to be descended from its ancient Princes. *Mehemed* told me amongst other Things, that he had in his Youth studied *Elm-al-Nogioum*, i. e. The Sciences of the Stars, or what we call Astrology. But he said that it created a great deal of Uneasiness, hindered him from acting according to the Rules of Prudence, and filled him with Suspicions. To divert his Mind from a Science so little productive of Pleasure or Profit, he apply'd himself to study *Al-Ecsir*, i. e. *Alchymy*, whence our Word Elixir. This perfectly answered his End. For as it involved him in a long Train of Speculations and Experiments, so it kept him, by a continual Succession of Pursuits, from returning to the Study of Astrology, and, at the same time, furnished the Means of diverging his leisure Hours. He was far from being so great an Enthusiast as *Hassan*. Time, Experience, and a larger Fund of Knowledge, had eradicated that Fierceness and Obstinacy so natural to the *Arabians*, and taught him a philosophical Calmness rarely to be met with in Christendom. One of his Maxims was, never to

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discourse on a Subject he did not understand, or to conceive that he understood any thing so well as not to want farther Instruction. With all this Wisdom he seem'd to be thoroughly persuaded that Transmutation was very possible ; that it had been formerly known and practised in the *Indies*, and that there was Reason to believe the *Bramins*, whom he called *Gioghis*, i. e. Religious Persons, were still acquainted with it. He informed me, that one of these became a *Mohammedan*, had translated the whole Body of their Philosophy into *Arabick*, under the Title of *Merat-al-Maani*, or the *Speculum* of Science, which Book he purchased at a very high Price, but found it written in a dark and figurative Stile ; so that it was not of great Use to him. A Proof upon which he principally insisted, was the Treasures found in the *Indies* by the Sultan *Mabmut* the *Gasnavite*, which by authentic Authors were affirmed to exceed sixty Millions of Sequins in Gold, coined and uncoined. These Treasures, in his Opinion, were not the pure Effects of Nature, but were rather owing to the Art of the *Indian* Sages. In such Discourses as these we passed away a Fortnight, which would have been spent pleasantly enough if I had

not

not been apprehensive that not only *Hassan*, but my Friend *Perez*, would be extremely alarmed at my Stay; of which, to say the Truth, I knew not what to think myself.

To divert the Time as well as I could, I began to look over the Papers of the *French Surgeon*, which had been given me by *Isouf Aga*. Amongst them I found an exact and concise Description of the Empire of *Abyssinia*, concerning which I had assiduously enquired at *Cairo*, but was able to learn no more News concerning it there than if I had been at *Geneva* or *London*, except that the Riches of this extensive Empire were brought into *Egypt* by the *Nubian Caravans*. In reading this Discourse, I collected a small Paper of Queries, upon which I interrogated *Melec*, the *Abyssine* Slave, who attended me; his Answers served as a kind of Annotation to the Account afore-mention'd, and set me perfectly at rest as to many Points which till then I thought utterly unintelligible, *European* Authors being extremely confused in all that they deliver concerning this Empire and its Inhabitants.

ON the last Day of *April*, being sent for by the *Bey*, to confer with him in the

Afternoon, I found him, as I thought, in a little Hurry, and after some previous Conversation, he told me that he intended the next Morning to carry me abroad with him, in order to shew me the Ruins of an ancient City at no great Distance; therefore he desired I would be ready as early as I could. I confess I knew not what to make of this Invitation, nor could I sleep all the Night: So that when *Melec* came in the Morning to awaken me, he found me already up and drest. It was once in my Head to have asked this Slave some Questions, but not knowing what Consequences might attend it, and dreading, tho' I knew not why, the Severity of the *Bey*, I held my Tongue. However, while I was eating my Breakfast, *Melec* told me that he was to go with us; that we should return at Night, and that he believed I would set out for *Cairo* on the morrow. This pleased me very well, for I began to wish myself out of these unknown Parts, where I was entirely at the Mercy of Strangers, and in a Condition to which no Man in his right Wits would have reduced himself.

At the Close of his Discourse, *Melec* informed me that he had himself some Curiosities to dispose of, which he had
casually

casually met with in going to a City called *Siouf* with a Message from his Master : These, he said, he was content to let me take at my one Price when I should return. A Proposition which suited me very well. As soon as it was perfectly light, the *Bey* was ready to depart, attended by a Troop of *Arabian* Cavaliers, consisting of sixty Men well armed. *Morat*, and myself, had Horses provided for us, and coasting along the Mountains we came by Noon to a Road which struck as it were into the Heart of them. There the *Bey* gave Orders for his Guards to halt, and then proceeding with his Slave *Melec*, he conducted *Morat* and myself to a Cave at some Distance, one of the most stupendous Works which yet remains of the ancient *Egyptian* Magnificence. It is hewn out of the solid Rock, supported by Pillars of the same Stone, wrought with all imaginable Art and Beauty, and filled with hieroglyphic and other Characters. Here we sat down in the Cool, and eat a short Repast, after which *Melec* and *Morat* went to give Orders to the Guards, and left the *Bey* alone with me in the Grotto.

As soon as they were gone, My Friend said he, if Time would permit I could

entertain you with a pleasant Account of the wonderful Stories that are told us of this Grotto, wherein it is supposed there are greater Treasures buried than in the Grand Seignior's Coffers. The most intelligent are of Opinion, that somewhere in this Neighbourhood lies that famous Mine of Emeralds so much spoken of in the *East*, and so fatal to its Owners. But I can assure you, that the last Story is full as ill grounded as the first; for I am well satisfied, that the Mine of Emeralds is not here, nay, as far as my Information reaches, it is not on this Side the *Nile*, tho' one of my Predecessors lost his Life on a Supposition that he was possessed of it. The Ground of this Story was, his having collected a great quantity of Emeralds, which tho' in other Respects he was a wise Man, shewed him to be extremely deficient in true Policy. The then Bashaw of *Cairo*, whose Name was *Mustapha*, was avaricious in the highest Degree, and on a Suspicion that he should possess himself of immense Wealth, he made War upon and destroyed the unhappy Prince, yet without gaining the End he sought, for his Treasures could never be found, and the Bashaw himself was the Year following strangled at the *Porte*.
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On this Account I am not a little tender of owning, that I have any of these fatal Stones, at the same time I am not averse to the Sale of them upon reasonable Terms, because any other Commodity of Value suits me better.

HAVING said this, he produced a little Casket from under his Robe, and having opened it, shewed me a great many of these Jewels, some of them wonderful perfect, and others larger, but cloudy and full of Specks. We were not long in bargaining, for he asked me at first a very moderate Price, and at last I agreed for 30 Stones on the part of *Hassan*, and 3 for myself; one of 40, one of 50, and the other for the Price of 70 *Sequins*. Those I bought for *Hassan* were absolutely perfect, those on my own Account were large but foul, and I bought them with a View to make Use of the Secret I had from M. *Pucci*, which I was sensible would render them of much more Value than they were sold to me. After our Business was over, the *Bey* shewed me another Parcel, consisting of nineteen large Stones, but far less perfect than those I had seen before. He seemed very desirous of selling me these altogether; I told him frankly that I had gone to the

Extent of my Commission, and that I had laid out all my own Money also. He then shewed me five Stones tied up in a Bag of a still larger Size, very thick but foul, and of different Colours. If these, said he, were perfect, they would be worth more Money than you have given me for all the rest, as they are I will sell them for 500 *Sequins*. This I confess tempted me exceedingly, and immediately brought into my Head what I never once thought on before, *viz.* That I had about me a Pearl Necklace which had been my Mother's, and which I had determined never to part from. I remembered that *Isouf* had told me Pearls bore a very high Price in these Parts, and thereupon I took a Resolution of beseeching the *Bey* to refer this Negotiation till our Return to his Castle, which at first he declined, but afterwards putting up the Stones with those I had bought, he delivered the whole Parcel to me in a Bag, bidding me take care to let no body suspect our Business there to have been any other than to gratify my Curiosity with a Sight of these Grottos, for there were several within our View, and we went afterwards to look upon them.

AFTER

AFTER a Stay of three or four Hours, we mounted our Horses again, and returned to the *Bey's* Palace just as it was dark. It happened that the *Cbeik* of an adjacent Village, and a Friend of his, came that Afternoon to visit the *Bey*, and staid for his Return ; so that our Conversation was put off till the Morning. I retired earlier than usual on Account of the Strangers, and that I might have Time to speak to *Melec* about the Things he had promised to sell me. When I was come to my Chamber, I put him in mind of his Promise, and he assured me, that as soon as the *Bey* was retired to Rest, he would come and shew me what he had mention'd. He came accordingly, and brought the better half of a broken Urn, with about 180 Medals of Gold, Silver, and large Brass. I was extremely surprized at so unexpected a Sight, and the first Question I asked was, whether the *Bey* knew any thing of them? The poor Fellow trembling, affirmed he did not, and began I believe to apprehend that I would betray him ; I bid him be of good Courage, and asked him what he valued these Curiosities at ; he said ten *Sequins* ; I immediately gave him twenty, and observed to him, that we were alike in Danger.

ger if we broke our Faiths. I put the Medals amongst my Equipage, and gave him the broken Urn to bury in the Place from whence he had taken it; after which he departed, and I being exceedingly fatigued, went to my Rest.

IN the Morning *Melec* waked me by coming into the Room, which he seldom did, and I was at first extremely surprized, supposing that some Accident had happened; I was confirmed in this, when he told me, that the *Bey* desired to speak with me in an Hour. The Slave's looking perfectly easy and composed, alarmed me still more, from an Apprehension that he had betrayed me, and that this was one of those Artifices of which I had been so often forewarned, from my Propensity to converse with *Moors* and *Arabs*. I dressed myself with much Hurry and Confusion, and addressed myself to my Prayers with much Distraction of Mind; when I had finished them with much ado, it shot into my Mind that the *Bey* had sent for me about the large Emeralds, and thereupon I immediately grew easy again, wondering at my former Disquiet, and fully persuaded that a Man's own Suspicions excruciate him much more than any real Evils to which he stands exposed, from
the

the ordinary Events in Life. The first Thing I did was to unrip the Lappit of an old Waistcoat which I wore over my Shirt, and in which the Necklace was sewed at full length ; it consisted of five Rows of Pearl with Pears at each End ; they were extremely fine, and at the Time they were bought, of a very high Price. I could not help shedding Tears at the Sight of it, and began to charge myself with the want of filial Tenderness, in parting thus with my Mother's Necklace to an Infidel. But when I had recollected myself a little, when I considered that the Value of all these Things was imaginary, and that a Parent if living could not but approve an Advantage gained by an Exchange of Things useless in themselves ; I recovered my Tranquility, and taking off the two Pears, resolved to produce only five Rows of Pearls.

By that Time I had done this, *Melec* came to hasten me, so I went directly to the *Bey's* Apartment, carrying the five Emeralds with me, which as soon as we were alone I produced. Well, my Friend, said *Mebemed*, what is it you have to offer me for these Children of the Sea ? alluding to the Colour of the Stones. I have, answered I, some of the true Children

dren of the Sea, presenting him at the same time the Necklace; he looked upon it with an Air of Pleasure and Astonishment, from whence I gathered, that I should be successful in my Negotiation. After looking at them for some Time, my Friend, said *Mehemed*, here are about 300 Pearls, if I value them at a *Sequin* apiece they will purchase only three of those Stones. True, my Lord, said I, but you will consider that you set a Value on your own Emeralds and on my Pearls. Very well, replied *Mehemed* gravely; and are you not a great Gainer by the Value which I have set? I then shewed him the two Pears, and our Business being quickly adjusted, he desired me to bring the rest of the Emeralds with me when I came to Dinner, which I accordingly did; and after our Repast was over, retiring to a Summer-house, he put up each of the Stones in Paper, affixed his Seal or Mark, for it is taken off only with Ink, on the Folds of each of them, and wrote within to whom it belonged; when he had so done, he put them all into the Bag, and that again into a little Case which he also sealed with four Seals, and delivered it to me. He then demanded whether I would return to *Cairo* the next Day, or repose a
Day

Day longer ; I chose the latter for the Sake of some Questions which I had to ask *Melec*.

THE *Bey* then told me, that all the *Arabs* I brought with me must remain with him ; but that *Morat* should return with me, and that he would send a Person in whom he could confide, to see us safely embarked on the *Nile* with our Baggage, for that he thought it would not be safe for us to return by Land. This somewhat surprized me, for I had no Idea of returning any other Way than that by which I came ; but when I had considered the Necessity of the Thing, and that the Return of these *Arabs* with their Camels might be fatal, not only to them, but to me, I very readily acquiesced, and thanked the *Bey* for his Care. When all these Things were adjusted, he told me, that in the Grotto's where we had been before, he had discovered some subterraneous Passages, in which he at first supposed some Treasure might be hid ; but that upon a stricter Scrutiny, he discovered they were meer *Catacombs*, and that he had taken out of them some embalm'd Birds, certain Idols, and figured Stones, which he promised to shew me, as he did the next Morning, and afterwards made

made me a Present of them, in return for which I gave him a little silver Case of Instruments which I carried in my Pocket.

In the Evening some Strangers arrived, which was the Reason that I did not see the *Bey* any more that Night, which gave me an Opportunity of finishing at leisure all the Inquires I had to make from *Melec*. He told me, that about five Years before, as he was going with his Sister to meet a young Man to whom she was to be married, they were all surprized by a Body of barbarous People which border on *Abysinia*, and that after living in Servitude with them some Months, they sold him to a *Nubian* Merchant, who brought him into *Egypt*, and having received many Favours from the *Bey*, presented him and his Sister, whom he had also bought, to *Mehemed*, with whom they had lived ever since.

THIS Sister I understood remained in the Women's Apartment constantly ; and tho' *Melec* did not tell me so, yet from various Circumstances I conjectured, that she was one of the *Bey's* Concubines. In this I was confirmed by the small Desire the *Abyssine* expressed to return into his own Country, or of obtaining his Liberty. He was perfectly satisfied with his present

sent Condition, and was only desirous of having a little Money by him, in Case any Accident should happen to his Master, a Thing frequent enough among these little Princes, who when united are powerful enough to give Law to the Grand Seignior's Governor; but when at Variance with each other, as they generally are, become Victims to their own ill-timed Resentments, and either die in the Field against some of their Neighbours and Competitors, or are strangled at *Cairo*, on some pretended Conspiracy.

THE next Day, being the third of *May*, I spent almost entirely in the Company of the *Bey*, who seemed to open himself with unusual Confidence. He said he looked upon it as a Thing certain, that he should not hear often from *Hassan*; that he thought his Design of retiring out of *Egypt* prudent; but that it required great Caution in the Execution of it, because the *Turks* were equally suspicious and barbarous, and having conceived strange Notions of his Wealth, would not fail on the slightest Pretence to rid themselves of him, in order to acquire it. The Evening I spent with *Melec*, getting all Things ready for my Journey, and on the fourth of *May* early in the Morning, having

having taken Leave of the *Bey*, who covered me with Civilities, *Morat* and I set out mounted on two fine Horses, attended by three Camels, which carried our Provisions and Baggage, and escorted by an *Arab* of Distinction, at the Head of twenty Cavaliers.

WE reached the *Nile* by two Days easy Journey. The first Night we lay in a Village, inhabited for the most part by *Copts* or *Egyptian* Christians. I walked about in the Evening attended every where by the *Arab Chief*, who treated me with a great Politeness, but seemed to take to himself as much or more State than the *Bey*; I understood afterwards that he was his elder Brother's Son. His Name was *Hamet*, his Age about twenty-three; he was an excellent Horseman even in Respect to the *Arabs*, who are all of them very expert in this Art. *Hamet*, had more of the *Arabian* Haughtiness by far than his Uncle; but at the same time he made Use of a much more ceremonious Courtesy, expressed himself with all the Pomp of *Eastern* Compliment; so that I had no small Trouble in conforming to all the Niceties which this illustrious Person expected.

THE next Evening we came to *Ackmin*; this is far from being a considerable Place at present, but in the Neighbourhood of it lie the Ruins of a very considerable City, among which I walked for a couple of Hours, observing with Regret the outrageous Havock which had been notoriously made of many Monuments of ancient Magnificence. There were however some Rows of Columns, which had not only resisted the Injuries of Time, but those also of the barbarous Lords of *Egypt*, who have so industriously demolished what they wanted Genius to erect. Some Apartments also were in a manner entire, their Walls being every where embellished either with Sculptures or Paintings, the latter amazingly fresh, so that the Colours seem as if they were fresh laid on. I should have been more exact in examining these venerable Remains of Antiquity, if the *Emir Hamet* had not told me, that he was straitened in Time, and that he expected to meet that Evening the Patron of the Vessel in which we were to sail to *Cairo*.

I WAS therefore obliged to return immediately, and as he said, we found when we came back the Person he expected, and his Vessel. The Master behaved very respectfully to the *Emir*, and assured him, that

that he would use the utmost Care and Expedition in conveying us to *Cairo*. The next Morning all our Baggage was put on board the Vessel, and when we came to take our Leave of the *Emir*, he appointed two of his Cavaliers to attend us. Then turning to *Morat* he embraced him, and wish'd him a good Voyage, desiring him to go with his *Arabians* immediately on board the Vessel. In the mean time he took me aside, and when we had walked a little way together, he drew a Letter out of his Bosom, and having first touched his Forehead therewith, and afterwards kissed it, he delivered it to me, and I opened it after the like Ceremony.

It was sealed, or rather subscribed by the *Bey*, and contained an Order to deliver immediately to the *Emir Hamet* the Packet with four Seals. I was so surprized I knew not what to say. The *Emir* perceived it, and endeavoured to comfort me; My Friend, said he, be not afflicted, you will suffer no Injury, either from me or my Uncle; we best know what is fittest to be done in our Affairs and yours. I saw Resistance was impracticable; and therefore I gave him the Packet of Jewels, and then with a heavy Heart, in spite of all his Promises and Assurances, I went on board the

the Vessel, where I found *Morat* and the two *Arabs* with four other Persons belonging to the Bark, but the Patron was gone ashore to receive the last Instructions of the *Emir*.

I look'd upon myself to be now no longer in a State of Freedom ; I considered these *Arabs* as Guards, I fancied that *Morat* looked exceedingly melancholy, and on the whole, I felt greater Pain and Disquiet than I had ever known in my Life. I began to revolve in my Mind that vast Variety of Events, which, tho' a young Man, I had seen ; I blamed my fond Credulity, which had induced me to run such real Hazards on chimerical Prospects. I saw all Things now in new Lights, I wondered how I so easily quitted my own Country, I stood amazed at my having shunned the Converse of *English* Merchants ; I accused myself of a thousand Follies, of which till now I had never thought myself guilty ; and I made innumerable Vows of Amendment, and of returning to a settled Course of Life, in case Providence should please to deliver me from this Gulph of Affliction. This Thought suddenly raised me, I began to conceive the State I was in, a kind of Warning from Heaven to quit this rambling sort of Life, and to return

turn to the Performance of those Duties incumbent upon me, as a reasonable Creature and a Christian. With this Hope I comforted myself, and recollecting my Spirits as well as I could, I began to enquire of *Morat* how he did, and how long he thought it would be before we should reach *Cairo*; he said he could not tell, but that he believed it would not be many Days, and that the Voyage would be very pleasant; he looked too as if he had recovered his former Chearfulness, and perhaps he had never lost it, except in my Imagination. The Patron of the Vessel was extremely courteous, as well as very careful of us; we lodged every Night on Shore, but as I apprehended that the *Arabs* and the Master of the Vessel had a strict Eye over us, I walked very little abroad, which hindered me from viewing abundance of Curiosities, that otherwise in the Course of this Voyage, I might have seen. I took notice, however, the second Day of our Voyage, of a Marble Column on our Right Hand, exactly like that of *Pompey*, near *Alexandria*, though I think not quite so high.

WHEN our *Arabians* became a little acquainted with us, they entertained us with the usual Topics, viz. Romantic Relations

Relations of the Adventures of ancient Heroes, and wonderful Histories of Treasures buried in Mountains, Castles erected by Art Magic, and *Talismans* capable of performing more stupendous Miracles than ever entered into any Legend. They delivered all they said with a Gravity, which shew'd that they believed themselves all that they desired others to credit, and I, who had profited much by *Hassan's* Admonition, suffer'd these Stories to amuse my Melancholy, and to divert the Passage, which exceedingly delighted the *Arabs*, who love to be listened too, and treated with Confidence, which notwithstanding the Stories that are told of them, I think they very rarely abuse.

I AM therather inclined to this Opinion, because that I knew their *Emirs* and *Princes* chastise with the utmost Severity, such as injure any who are going to or coming from them, and have thereby put themselves upon their Faith. It is true, that they are extremely poor, which makes them thievish ; but if you give them a Trifle, and treat them kindly, and like Friends, they will not wrong you ; but on the contrary, serve you with great Fidelity, and exert themselves to the utmost in your Defence. When we were
fallen

fallen down the *Nile* within a Day's Sail or less of *Cairo*, we landed at a Village called *Safi*, where we hired four Camels, and having put the Baggage upon one, the *Arab* who owned the Camels, *Morat* and myself, on the other three set out by Land for *Cairo*, by the Direction of the *Arabs* whom the *Emir* had left with us; and we entered on the same Side of the City, from whence we set out for *Suez*.

It is impossible to express the Joy which Mr. *Perez* and *Antonio* testified on my Arrival. They had sent to *Suez*, and were informed, that my Curiosity had tempted me to make an Excursion into the Upper *Egypt*, where they took it for certain, that some Misfortune had befallen me. I had not been at Home long before *Hassan* sent me a Message, desiring that I would repose myself for a Day or two before I visited him. This was to me quite unintelligible; however I was constrained to be silent, as well as to bear with Patience the great Loss that I had sustained.

DURING this Space, Mr. *Perez* diverted me with the Recital of what had passed in my Absence, and also presented me with a long Letter from Dr. *Salviati*, in which among other Things there was

a Query as to the Uses that might be made in Chemistry of the Practice at *Cairo* of hatching Eggs in Ovens. Having considered this attentively, I began to apprehend, that very possibly the Experiments I made of Mr. *Pucci's* Secret would have succeeded better if such Ovens as these had been used. Upon this I began to enquire very particularly into this Method of hatching Chickens, as also whether it was practicable to erect them in a private House, which I was told it was not. Then I desired to be informed if a Pot well luted might be suffer'd to stand in these Ovens for a certain Time, without Danger of its being opened ; and being satisfied on this Head, I took two very foul Emeralds, and that which had been partly cleansed before, and having properly secured, them sent them to be placed in the Oven for nine Days.

THE Day after I went to wait on my Patron *Hassan* according to his Appointment, he received me with all the Marks of Friendship possible, and before I had been with him twenty Minutes, produc'd to me the *Bey's* Packet, with the Seals untouch'd. He told me at the same time, that the *Bashaw* having sent a *Chiaux* to *Mehemed Bey* while I was at his

Palace, that Lord was apprehensive, that upon some Intelligence given, I might be seized in my Return to *Cairo*, which would have been fatal to them all; he therefore dispatch'd his Nephew the *Emir*, with an Answer to the Bashaw's Demands, and knowing that he would not be suspected or searched, gave him Directions to take a certain Packet from me, and deliver it when Opportunity serv'd to *Hassan*.

WE immediately broke open the Seals, took out the Bag, and divided the Emeralds according to the written Directions of the *Bey*. *Hassan* was not a little surprized at the Choice I had made of imperfect Stones, which, as he rightly observed, were from their Size above the Purchase of unskilful Judges, and from their Quality unfit for those who had Skill. I admitted what he said to be true, and could defend myself only by saying, that my Money would hold out no farther. My Patron observed, that he forbid *Morat* to enter his House, and had sent to hinder my visiting him till such time as the *Emir* was returned, lest on our Meeting such Civilities might pass as might possibly beget Suspicion; in which I confess he acted very reasonably. Two Days afterwards he set out for
Rosetta,

Rosetta, from whence in a few Week he transported himself and his Family to *Algiers*, having before disposed of his House and Gardens to the *Turkish Aga*, who on that Account winked at his Departure, and sent no Advices to the Bashaw till his Friend was out of Danger.

At the End of the appointed Time I sent for my Pot from the Oven, and found upon Inspection, that a thin Stone was crack'd quite through; another thicker one was much mended in its Colour; but as for the large Stone I bought of the Jew at *Alexandria*, and had made an unsuccessful Attempt to rectify before, it was as fine, as clear, and as perfect as I could wish. Having consider'd this Matter attentively, and compared all the Circumstances together, which from Experience I knew of this Matter, I fell upon a new Method, which I executed as well as projected, and by the Means of three Lamps of different Wicks which I kept continually burning under three Vessels of Water, the first of which supply'd the second, and the second the third, with boiling Water, continually, the first only being fill'd up as Occasion required with hot Water, I effected the whole Process to my great Satisfaction; and, by adjusting

the Time to the Thickness of the Stones, came by degrees to an unhoped for Certainty, which soon furnished me with Emeralds superior to most that had been seen in *Europe*.

As these Things took up much Time, and required almost a continual Attendance, I had all the Leisure in the World to methodize and review my Papers, to perfect my Observations, to raise new Heads of Enquiry, and to satisfy myself as to many Things about which our best Authors contradict each other, or else pass over in Silence, because they wanted either the Will or the Opportunity of being thoroughly informed about them. That I might with greater Conveniency thus employ my Time, I mentioned to Mr. *Perez* the Papers relating to *Ethiopia*, which I had brought from *Suez*, and he pressing earnestly to see 'em, I promised to gratify his Curiosity as soon as I could transcribe and digest 'em, which afforded me a fair Excuse for being much in my own Apartment, where at the same time I carried on this, and Business of greater Importance.

BUT as Diversity of Studies relieve each other, so I thought proper to join to this Historical Treatise the collecting such Secrets and Receipts as I had received, either
from

from my Friends, or had transcribed from Books since my Arrival in *Egypt*. I communicated also this Design to Mr. *Perez*, and received his kind Assistance therein, he having been no less assiduous than I in the Search of such Curiosities; for Curiosities they might properly be called, since they served rather to amuse, than to instruct, and were rather ingenious than useful. To these I added his and my own Observations, as to their Success, want of Success, their Reasonableness, or Improbability; the Causes of their failing, the most proper Remedies for those Causes, and whatever else could contribute to make a Collection of this Sort so far beneficial as to prevent an unnecessary Waste of Time in fruitless Experiments.

WHEN these were finished, I drew up a succinct Description of *Egypt*, which I thought might be best done upon the Spot, where all that was said might fall under the Eye of competent and impartial Judges, where Errors might be easily rectified, Deficiencies properly supply'd, and all Grounds of Doubtfulness or Suspicion removed. This too, by a steady Application, was quickly perfected, revised, corrected, and put into its last Dress. It happened that the Discourse on the

Ethiopian Empire, and the Description of *Egypt*, were in my Hands when we left *Cairo*; so that these I have preserved.

BUT as to the Collection of Receipts, and five small Treatises on the *Oriental Philosophy*, *Alchymy*, the *Christian Religion*, so far as its *Truth* is acknowledg'd by *Mohammedans*, the *Veracity* of *Oriental Historians*, and the true Principles of the *Religion* of the *Indians*, I had delivered them to Mr. *Perez*, who desired to transcribe them, by which Means they were lost to me. The *Historical Pieces*, as they have an intimate Relation to these *Memoirs*, follow here as in their proper Places.

A RELATION of the PRESENT STATE of ETHIOPIA. By a French Surgeon.

IT was not Choice, flowing from an avaricious Desire of possessing Part of those immense Riches which the *Portuguese* every where give out to abound in *Ethiopia*, that drew me thither. I had the Misfortune to be taken by a Crew of Pirates in the *West-Indies*, Part of whom, after having for seven Years committed incredible Ravages in those Parts, sailed for the *Red-Sea*, at the Persuasion of a Person who had been Servant to the Governor

vernor of *Barbadoes*, and had heard it frequently said at his Master's Table, that Privateers in those Seas might easily possess themselves of immense Wealth, an Argument of all others most prevalent with this kind of People.

THEY were very lucky on their first coming on the Coasts of *Arabia*; but they had not taken many Prizes before they were alarmed with a Story of an *Arabian* King's fitting out a great Fleet, on purpose to take them. This induced the Captain of our Ship, for there were three in all, to stand over to the *Ethiopian* Shore, where he put into the Port of *Arkiko*, and sent me with three Men in the Boat, to desire Leave of the Governor to trade with the People.

WE were no sooner on shore than we were sent to Prison, and the Captain, the next Day, fairly sailed away without us, a Thing I did not at that Time much regret, being heartily weary of living among such a wicked Race of People. I regretted it the less, because I was immediately set at Liberty, and left to do with myself what I thought fit. The three Men who came on Shore with me engaged themselves in the *Turkish* Service as Mariners, and I suffered myself to be persuaded by some *Jew-*

isb Merchants to go with them into *Ethiopia*, on a Promise that they would carry me the next Year into *Egypt*, with a Caravan; in which they deceived me, and not contented therewith, treated me very harshly, forcing me to exercise my Profession as a Surgeon, and taking to themselves whatever Presents the People sent.

AFTER this Manner they dragg'd me quite cross the Empire of *Ethiopia*, from the *Red-Sea* to the Sea of *Dambea*, which is no other than a very great Lake, through which the *Nile* passes, and lies in the West Part of *Ethiopia*. Here I got released, and was kindly entertained by many of the People who had been formerly converted by the *Portuguese* Fathers, and do still retain a great Veneration for them, and on their Account for all Catholicks. I then traversed this great Lake, and turning next to the South entered the Kingdom of *Gojam*, where in two Days Journey I passed from the River *Nile*, where it was large and rapid, and had run at least three hundred Miles, to its Source, the River forming the Figure of an *Italic* O, the Top of which is open, and represents the near Approach of the winding Body of the River to its Fountains after so long a Course, whereby the Kingdom of *Gojam* is made a perfect Peninsula,

fula, the Isthmus contained between the two Branches of the *Nile* being not above twenty Miles broad.

I RESIDED near twenty Years at *Aza-zo*, the Capital of this Kingdom, 'till being seized with a strong Passion of returning into *Europe*, I travelled first due East, to the famous Fortrefs of *Ambasel*, and then directly North to *Axuma*, which is generally esteemed the Capital of *Ethiopia*, from whence, after three Years Stay, I found Means to get to *Suez*, where I wrote this Account, having traversed the greatest Part of that Country, which makes such a Noise in *Europe*, and which is really the most different in the World from what it hath been represented.

THIS Country is by some call'd the *Higher Ethiopia*, but I think more commonly *Abyssinia*, which Word is derived from the Name given to their own Country in their own Language, by the Inhabitants of this Empire, viz, *Habesh*; but whence that is derived, or what it signifies, I know not; and perhaps some who affect to deal in Etymologies, know as little as I. As to the Extent of this Empire, it was formerly much greater than it now is, and at present its Bounds are

not easily settled ; however, I think that in Length, from South to North, it may be near five hundred Miles in Extent ; and from the *Red-Sea* to the *Nile*, it may be about two hundred. As it lies from 8 to 17 Degrees of North Latitude, it is plainly in the Torrid Zone, which to me is a Demonstration that the Moderns are not much more exact than the Antients in their Sentiments as to the Effects of the Nearness or Distance of the Sun, since it is certain that *Ethiopia* is not so hot as *Spain*, but of such a Temperature as in the warmest Provinces of the Kingdom I mention the People feel in Spring. On the Coast, indeed, it is excessive hot in the Summer Months, which are the same as with us in *Europe* ; but in the inland Parts Summer and Winter are reversed, that is to say, the Winter commences in the Middle of *June*, and lasts to the Middle of *September* ; and the Summer commences in *December* and ends in *March*. I am well informed, that on the other Side of the *Red-Sea*, the Tables are turned again, the Winter on the Coast lasts from *June* to *September* ; and in the inland Parts of *Arabia*, from *November* to *February*.

THE rainy Seasons are indeed equally terrible and troublesome ; for every Day,

to a Stranger, appears the last in which this World is to subsist, and yet from three o'Clock in the Afternoon, to seven, includes the whole of this amazing Scene; by that Time all is over, and the next Morning breaks with a Serenity the most pleasing that can be imagined; about Noon the Clouds gather, and at three, Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, spread a Terror and Confusion not to be described. I have often thought from this, and from a hundred other Circumstances, that *Abyssinia* might be stiled the Land of Contradictions. At first Sight this Expression will appear only a Flight of Thought, but it is in Truth a very weighty Observation, since it reconciles at once the opposite Accounts we have from different Authors.

As to the Fertility of this Country, who would not be led to admire it, when he is told that there are always two, and sometimes three Harvests? and yet there is no Place on the Globe the Inhabitants of which are so often plagued with Famine. This arises from various Causes. First, there are but here and there Spots of arable Land, and these are not very fertile. Secondly, the Locusts often come and destroy every green Thing with a Fury
scarce

scarce to be conceived. Thirdly, the Emperor's Soldiers live every where at free Quarters, and consequently spread Want and Penury wherever they come. Fourthly, the Lightnings frequently destroy their Stores. And, lastly, the *Gallas*, and other barbarous People, harrafs the Frontier Provinces continually.

THE Fruits of this Country are very excellent, and might be had in great Plenty if their Constitution encouraged the People to cultivate them; which it is so far from doing, that one can scarce conceive how they are able at all to subsist themselves and their Families. As to all Sorts of Herbs and Flowers that are to be found in the *Indies*, they are found here; and besides, there are also some Vulneraries which I believe are peculiar to this Soil. It would require much Time, and more Knowledge than I am Master of, to describe all the Curiosities in this Country; which I am the less capable of doing, because I had not any Conveniency of making *Memorandums* on the Spot; so that I write entirely from Memory, with this Caution, however, that I insert nothing but what I certainly remember. In the Number of these Things I reckon these three. First, the Grain call'd *Teff*,
the

the great Bread Corn of this Country, very nutritive and pleasant, and yet ten Grains of it are not larger, taken together, than a Grain of Millet. The *Hansat* Tree, somewhat like a *Palmetto*, its Rind smooth, its Leaves beautifully green, and very thick. This Tree produces nothing, and yet is the most useful and desirable in the Country. Its Leaves, when dry, rub into a pleasant wholesome Meal; the Tree itself, cut down, sliced into convenient Pieces, and boiled in Milk, tastes exactly like a Millet Pudding; and from its Root there starts out numberless young Sprigs, which quickly grow to a considerable Size. The third Curiosity is the Herb *Azazo*, the most noble Alexipharmic in the Universe; the very Smell of it is said to benumn the most dangerous Sort of Vipers. A little of the Powder taken inwardly, never fails to cure their Bites; and it is certain that those who have lately taken it pass boldly through Places infested by Serpents, without Fear of being bitten, the Effluvia from their Bodies making those Creatures sick. Oranges, Lemons, Figs and Sugar-Canes, are found in various Provinces of *Abyssinia*.

GOLD, I believe there is none in the whole Empire, notwithstanding what so many

many have boldly asserted ; what they have comes to them from the West ; but as for Iron and Lead, they have both in Plenty. On the Coasts of the *Red-Sea* they have a Sort of *Sal gemma*, or Rock Salt, which they cut out into Pieces like Bricks, and these are the current Money, or rather Measure of Exchange throughout the Empire, but with great Variation in their Value, for on the Sea Coast sixty of them are equal to a Sequin, whereas in other Parts a Sequin will fetch but five, nay, but three. Mountains are very frequent, and in some Places there are Rocks shoot up like Pillars, which serve for Fortresses, and are impregnable in their Nature ; these are stiled *Amba's*. There are also Chains of Mountains running this Way and that, affording very narrow Passages from one Province to another, and lying in some Places so as to oblige the Travellers to pass over them, which cannot be performed but with great Trouble and Danger. Besides the *Nile*, of which I shall speak afterwards, there are many very considerable Rivers in *Abyssinia*, some of which, as the *Maleg*, fall into the *Nile*. Others, as the *Lebea*, after a long Course, roll into the Sea. And a third Sort again, as the *Hakobax*, little inferior to the *Nile*,

Nile, after watering for many hundred Miles a barren Country, roll at last into more barren Sands, and are there drunk up and lost.

THE Animals in *Ethiopia* are of all Sorts, as well such as are found in *Europe* as in *Asia* and *Africk*, but they have especially Plenty of three Kinds : First, of excellent Horses ; secondly, of beautiful and serviceable Mules ; thirdly, a prodigious Quantity of black Cattle, in which the chief Riches of the People consist. As to wild Beasts, there are too many of them ; for I think there is scarce a Species of which this Country hath not its Share. Elephants there are in vast Numbers, so that sometimes one meets a hundred of them in a Herd on the Road ; yet have they no Notion of taming them, or of making any other use of them than that of selling their Teeth. They have likewise Lions of various Kinds, some very strong and high mettled, not less than nine, though some say twelve, Feet in Length : They are very terrible to the Sight ; nor is it to be conceived with what Fright all Animals fly at the first hearing of their Roar. There is likewise in this Country the *Giraff*, an Animal capable of striking with Wonder the most incurious Spec-

Spectator. It most of all resembles a Camel in its Form, but vastly exceeds it in Size, since it is bigger than an Elephant, but its Limbs are very slender, and it makes a very odd Figure.

THE Birds of *Ethiopia* are very numerous; and besides those common to *Europe* and the *Indies*, there are many peculiar to this Country, which I think needless to describe; I shall therefore content myself with observing, that their Ducks are larger, fatter, and better tasted than those in *Europe*; their Partridges are high tasted as ours, and of the Size of Capons. River Fish they have, but not in very great abundance; neither have I seen any that merit a particular Description. I come now to speak of the People.

THE Inhabitants of *Abyssinia* are composed of Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans; of these I think the two last make a Third. The *Abyssines* themselves are *Christians*; the Men and Women are generally well-made, middle-siz'd People, of a beautiful Tawney, with long curled Hair, of which they are very careful. They are without all question, in their own Natures, the most harmless, docile People in the World, pious to Excess, and charitable to a Fault, whatever our Missionaries

sionaries may think fit to say. As to their Religion, it is indeed a very odd Mixture, the *Jews*, *Pagans*, *Mohammedans*, *Christians*, all circumcise, either from a Principle of Religion, or to avoid Reproach. It is certain, that before the *Abyssines* were converted to Christianity, they were *Jews*; and it is as certain that they still retain a Mixture of *Judaism* in their Religious Customs. As to their heretical Notions, they are chiefly such as flow from the *Eutychian* Heresy. Our Missionaries magnify them excessively, and yet they are more solicitous to introduce Submission to the *Papal See*, than to set them right in any other Point; and yet a Man of an ordinary Understanding cannot fail, on a short Acquaintance with these People, to discover that this is the last Point to be touched upon, as Experience hath shewn; that continually insisting upon it, hitherto hath kept the Catholick Religion out of *Ethiopia*, and has even made it odious there, insomuch that the Bulk of the People would rather embrace *Mohammedism*.

THE *Abyssines* worship God with great Devotion; but there are amongst them such a Multitude of Churches, that one is always within Sight of another; and there

there are frequently several within Sight of each other. The Clergy are meek innocent People; and all the Monks labour with their Hands for their Subsistence. They fast very rigorously, tasting neither Meat nor Drink till Evening; and they give to those that ask them whatever they ask; and therefore it is no Wonder that *Ethiopia* is over-burthen'd with Beggars. In Marriage only their Morals are irregular, inasmuch as they retain the *Jewish* Custom of divorcing upon the slightest Occasions, the Man and Woman marrying again where they please. On this Head it is very remarkable, that a Husband frequently pardons Adultery, but if his Wife scolds he divorces her without Mercy. The Missionaries, while they were in this Country, took a great deal of Pains to rectify this Abuse; and it must be acknowledg'd, to the Honour of the *Portuguese* Fathers, that as many of them died Martyrs, and as all of them lived Confessors, so they maintained an Apostolick Purity in their Conduct, and have, since their Deaths, been revered as Saints, notwithstanding the Aversion the People have for the Catholick Religion, founded solely on the Apprehensions they have of the Pope's Supremacy, which they call a bare-faced Usur-

Usurpation, inconsistent with their ecclesiastical and civil Rights.

As to the Government of *Ethiopia*, it is as every thing in this Country is, full of Contradictions. The Emperor styles himself *King of Kings*, boasts sometimes of numberless Provinces under his Subjection, asserts his sole Property in the Soil of *Abyssinia*, which is acknowledged by his Subjects, who are all Tenants at Will, and are frequently dispossessed. As there is no Money in his Dominions, he takes his Revenue in Kind, the tenth Cow every third Year, the tenth Piece of Cloth from every Weaver, and so in other Things. Yet this Monarch is very far from being absolute, for the great Men frequently prescribe Laws to him, and the Loyalty of his Subjects hangs very loose about them; so that tho' they acknowledge their Emperor for a despotic Prince, yet it is with this Salvo, that when he does not please them, he shall be no longer their Emperor. After this Account, I need scarce add that the People are very poor and miserable, since it is plain a Civil War makes all People so; and ten Years is a long Truce in *Ethiopia*, where in Time of Peace the Nation are most abject Slaves. When the Emperor bestows a Government, a Herald proclaims
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at the Door of the Tent ; *His Imperial Majesty hath been pleased to make such a one his Slave, Ruler over such a Province.* And he does the same thing when he takes a Lady to his Wife. The Phrase then is ; *His Majesty hath made such a one his Slave Empress.* In the *Abyssinian* Language a King is call'd *Negus*. Their Monarch they stile *Negus Negasta*, which is as much as to say, *King of Kings*. Formerly the *Abyssinian* Monarchs made use of two Ministers to transact all publick Affairs, being themselves scarce ever seen by their Subjects. These Ministers were stiled *Be-tudets*, and were in fact *Mayors* of the *Palace*, or in other Words, *Kings*, while the Emperor, with all his Titles, was but a Cypher ; but within these hundred Years the Emperors have condescended to be Men, and, in consequence thereof, have resumed their Authority. The Prime Minister, when there is one, is stiled *Raz*, and his Office is much the same with that of the Vizir *Azem* at the *Porte*. I have read in some *Portuguese* Voyages, that the *Ethiopian* Monarchs live very meanly. This I can disprove, tho' I never saw the Emperor, because his chief Lords are very richly dressed in Velvet Jackets, and Sur-touts of Brocade : But I shall readily agree

agree that they are the only well-cloath'd People in the Empire. The Governor of a Province is stiled *Xumo*, or rather *Chumo*, for so they pronounce it. And they have abundance of other Officers in the Nature of Intendants and Lieutenants for the King.

THERE are abundance of Princes dependent on the *Abyssinian* Empire, who, as far as outward Marks of Respect will go, confess this Dependence, and perhaps send considerable Presents; but as for Obedience. that's not to be expected, unless some *Abyssinian* Monarch should arise of an enterprizing, and at the same time of a regular Genius, who after new modelling his own Empire, should turn his Arms upon his Neighbours; for in this Case he would undoubtedly restore the ancient Glory of the *Abyssinian* Name, since these People are naturally good Soldiers, brave, obedient, patient of Fatigue, and very capable of Discipline, if they had Officers who knew how to instruct them. Their Horse are naturally very good, and might be managed so as to become the very best in the World, as they have the Speed of the *Arabian* Coursers, and the Strength and Fierceness of our Horses in *Europe*. As it is the first Shock deter-
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mines a Battle, and tho' personally the *Abyssines* have as much Valour as any People in the World, yet in pitched Battles they are easily defeated; for if their General be kill'd, if Artillery be brought to play upon them, if they are attack'd in Flank, a Pannick presently takes them, and they run all away; nor is it possible to bring them together again by Promises or Threats. The Emperor moves about with a flying Army, under the Name of Guards, and seldom, if ever, resides any where but in a Camp, which is the Reason that there are no great Towns, much less Cities, in *Ethiopia*, but Villages are thick; in some Places they almost touch each other; so that the whole Country is a straggling Hamlet.

THEIR Houses are no better than Cabins, and their Furniture a low Table, a few Mats, and a Hide to sleep on. As for Plates and Dishes, none but Persons of Distinction have any, and they are a kind of black earthen Ware. The ordinary People make a Sort of broad thin Cakes, which they bake in such a manner as to leave them very tough; these they lay upon the Table, clap their Meat upon them, also use them to wipe their Fingers, after which their Slaves, or their
Women,

Women, eat them ; and in every other Respect they are alike nice, that is, not at all so. The grand Dainty in *Abyssinia* is raw Beef, of which they lay a whole Quarter upon the Table hot, as it is cut from the Creature, with a Bladder or earthen Cup full of the Gall ; this they mix with Pepper and Salt, and dipping the Flesh into it, eat it with all the Greediness of *Tartars*. They likewise make a kind of Mustard, by mixing with Salt and Pepper the Chile which they find in the Stomach of the Beast when it is kill'd ; and this they properly enough stile a Rarity, because a Quantity of Pepper, sufficient to make it, is seldom to be had. Though it may be concluded from this Account, that the *Abyssines* live but indifferently, yet it must not be imagined that Strangers are in Danger of wanting amongst them ; on the contrary, they are better provided for here than perhaps in any other Country in the World, as well in Right of the Laws, as from the charitable Disposition of the People. As soon as a Traveller comes to any Village, he looks about for the best and most convenient Hut or House therein, into which he instantly enters, and is there as much at his Ease

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as if it were his Brother's. The Master presently sends to his Neighbours to inform them that he has a Guest, whereupon they bring him whatever may contribute to the Stranger's Refreshment, and are sure to satisfy all his Demands, because, if he should complain, the Governor of the Province would mulct them in twice as much: However, there is rarely any Instance of Complaints of this Sort, the *Abyssines* having a natural Generosity, especially towards Passengers.

I HAVE said that this is a Country of Contradictions, and so it is in the Character of its Inhabitants. They are naturally honest, beneficent, and inclined to live peaceably, yet are they involved in continual Wars, either against their Neighbours, or amongst themselves; Treason and Rebellion being as natural to that Country as Rain or Sun-shine, and almost as frequent. For this, two Reasons may be assigned. First, the Corruption of their Grandees, which is as excessive as in *Europe*; all the Grandees being quite another Race of People, void of that Probity, Humanity, and peaceable Disposition visible in the rest of the Nation. To be sure it is not the Air of the Court, or their seeing the Emperor daily, that so strangely changes

changes these People, I believe rather it is the Nature of the Life they lead ; for being, as they are, called from all Attention to their private Affairs, in order to take care of those of the Publick, they set no Bounds either to their Desires, or to their Expences, at the same time that they expect the Publick should pay for all. Their Hopes and Fears also being much stronger, and more powerful than those of meaner Men, they engage in Frauds, Conspiracies, or Rebellions, to gratify these, or to secure themselves from those. Hence the Corruption of the Great is here, as well as elsewhere, the prime Cause of Disorder in the State. But Secondly, these Grandees, by the Constitution of the *Abyssinian* Monarchy, are possessed of too great an Authority, and also of too great an Influence over those they govern. Hence it comes to pass, that a discontented Governor hath it frequently in his Power to engage the People in Support of his private Interests, by specious Pretences of Zeal for the *Publick Service*. The Clergy also, who are about the Court, lose that Sanctity of Heart and Purity of Manners, which is the Ornament of their Order, and acquiring in their stead a spiritual Pride, and a boundless Lust of Power, they use their

VOL. II. F Characters,

Characters, because sacred, to cover those Crimes which are too black for publick View; whence it happens, that the *Abuna* or Patriarch of *Ethiopia* is often at the Head of a Conspiracy, and has sometimes drawn together 50 or 60,000 *Monks* to abet his personal Quarrel, under Colour of supporting the *Abyssinian* Religion. Thus between the Priests, who name every Scuffle for their private Views a Contention *pro Aris*, and the Governors, who when they are in Danger of being removed, fright the People into a Rebellion *pro Focis*, the honestest Folks in the World yearly cut one anothers Throats for the Gratification of those who deserve to have their own cut according to Law.

I have been led to these Observations from the Remembrance of one and twenty Rebellions in fifteen Years, not one of which was occasioned by any ill Conduct of their Princes, but meerly through the Villainy of the *Grandees*, and the Ignorance of the common People. This Account explains a Maxim in the *Abyssinian* Polity, which can be explained no other way, I mean that scrupulous Obstinacy with which they persist in shutting all Strangers out of the Empire. The *Grandees* know from Reason, and from Experience

Experience of former Times, when the *Portuguese* had footing in this Country, that the *Abyssinian* Emperors would emancipate themselves from that Bondage in which they hold them, if they could have the Assistance of any Foreign Prince, only so far as to secure their Persons, which by Reason of the Artifices of their great Officers and their Clergy, are never in Safety while guarded by their own Subjects. This Maxim, either by false colouring, the Great ones deceive their Sovereigns into a good Opinion of, or else they adhere to it in spight of his Commands, which is easily done in a Country where they have made it the first Article of their political Creed with the People, in Virtue of that inveterate Desire which the Missionaries professed of subjecting the *Abyssines* to the *Pope*, a Thing they feared the more, the less they understood it. They might if they pleased at present spare a great part of this Trouble, since I am persuaded, that no *European* who enters *Abyssinia* will be very desirous of staying there, or of sending his Countrymen thither, since it is a Place where there is very little to be got. The richest Emperors seldom possess half a Million of Livres, and notwithstanding all that is positively affirmed by

our Authors, I am very confident there is no Gold in *Abyssinia* ; all that the Emperor receives coming from Regions lying to the South or South West, farther into the Heart of *Africa*. I know that the *Abyssines* themselves do sometimes pretend, that there are very rich Mines of Gold in their Country, but that they conceal them for fear of the *Turks* ; yet I am persuaded this is false ; for if there were Gold Mines in their Hills, there would be Gold Dust in their Rivers, their tempestuous Autumns especially considered, and yet there is not ; Iron and Lead indeed they have, but not in the Plenty that some have reported. Again, if there had been Gold Mines in *Ethiopia*, their ancient Emperors would have been rich ; and as the *Abyssines* are naturally vain, they would surely have left us some Marks of their Magnificence ; whereas there is neither City nor Palace in all *Abyssinia*. I do indeed believe, that a Thousand Years ago there might have been Cities and Palaces both ; but then the Emperors had not only those Countries I spoke of under their Dominion, but a great Part of *Arabia* also, of which they were dispossessed a little before the Birth of *Mohammed*, as their Historians say. This therefore proves nothing as to the Gold
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of *Abyssinia*; and as to the *Asiatic Ethiopia*, or of the *interior Ethiopia* in *Afric*, I believe that it abounds in both Countries, and to them therefore the *Europeans* must go who would fetch it, and not into *Abyssinia*.

As our Writers generally deceive us, in respect to the Riches of this Country, so they deceive us not less in what they say of the Poverty of its Inhabitants, taking that Word in a moral Sense; for the *Abyssines* are so far from being stupid or indocil, that they are in Truth a very quick-witted and tractable People, excepting only in some Points which concern their Civil and Religious Rites, wherein they conceive it to be the Interest of all Strangers to mislead them. As to Learning, without question there is not much of it in *Abyssinia*, yet are its Inhabitants not absolutely deficient in this Point. They have a good Version of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in their own Tongue; a large Collection of the Works of the Fathers of the Primitive Church, in which it is said there are none of the *Eutychians*, or *Nestorians*; a Modern Body of Divinity, which is full of them; several Volumes of the Lives of the Saints; many Treatises on Monastic Life; several

Histories of *Ethiopia*, of which I saw two, one that might have made ten Volumes in Folio, the other about half as big. The *Psalter* of *David* is the Book most common amongst them, and many of their *Monks* can repeat forty, fifty, nay a hundred Psalms. Their Books of History are written in a flowery figurative Stile, which however is far from being inelegant or unentertaining. On the contrary, *David Gomez*, who was a kind of Engineer in the Kingdom of *Dambee*, shewed me the Beginning of a History which he had translated into *Portuguese*, which would have been read with great Applause in *Europe*; where if the *Ethiopian* Writings are disliked and disesteemed, it is because they are not properly translated; for the figurative Language of one Country ought not to be rendered into the literal, but into the figurative Language of another Country, and read with a proper Allowance for the Genius of the People from whose Tongue the Version is made. It is very true, that the *Monks* for the Generality are very unlearned; but it is also true, that they live very inoffensively, and I am likewise certain, that some of them are well acquainted with all the Learning they have. However it must be

be acknowledged, that the Grantees, the great Officers at Court, and Governors of Provinces, are Men the best versed in History, a Study in which most of them very much delight, and on this Account they have always about them some who addict themselves to this kind of Literature, and compose Memoirs of what passes in their own Times, which they dedicate to their Patrons.

IN common Conversation the People are very complacent and communicative, nay, what is still more extraordinary, the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Narea*, which lies the farthest from the *Red-Sea*, and consequently from all Correspondence with our part of the World, are by far the most polite People in *Abyssinia*; nay the very Respect paid by their King to the Emperor, is the pure Effect of Politeness, since the *Abyssinian* Monarch is in no Condition of exacting such Marks of Homage, if the King of *Narea* should refuse them. *Abyssinia* is not only vexed by very potent and cruel Neighbours, differing from its Inhabitants in Religion, but there are also in its Bowels many Colonies of these their Adversaries, who give them not a Grain the less Trouble for being their near Neighbours. Of these I shall

speak in their Order. First then, the *Moors* or *Mohammedans* are possessed of almost all the *East Coast* of *Abyssinia*, for the King of *Dancali*, and the King of *Adel*, with all their Subjects, are *Mohammedans*; and on the *West Side*, the King of *Sennar*, and the People on the other Side of the River *Melec*, are most of them *Mohammedans* also. Formerly the *Moors* from *Adel* came in like a Torrent, and conquer'd a great part of *Abyssinia*; but they were quickly driven out again, as indeed most of its Conquerors have been; for as soon as the *Abyssines* perceive that they are not able to meet their Enemies in the Field, they retire to their *Ambas*, or inaccessible Mountains, and leave the Conquerors to burn and plunder as they think fit. Then as soon as it is perceived that their Martial Ardour is abated, that they are excessively fatigued and overladen with Prey, the *Abyssines* begin to assemble, and falling upon them from all Quarters, oblige them at last to quit their Country, if not to leave their Booty behind them.

SUCH of the *Moors* as are settled in *Abyssinia*, are an industrious harmless People, and seem better disposed to cultivate the Earth, and to improve the Places where

where they dwell than the *Abyssines*. As for the *Jews* I am at a Loss what to say of them ; for if we consider the several sorts of them who live in and round *Abyssinia*, and the Custom of the *Abyssines* themselves, to observe the Sabbath strictly, to circumcise on the eighth Day, to use the Levitical Purifications, to abstain from forbidden Meats, to send away their Wives on every slight Occasion with a Bill of Divorce, and to boast as they do, that their Monarch is the *Lion* of the Tribe of *Judah*; I say when one considers all this, one might be tempted to say they are all *Jews*. But to avoid giving Offence, after separating the *Abyssines*, who are a kind of Christian *Jews*, the Remainder may be divided into *Jews*, properly so called, and into those who are *Jews* only by Descent. Of the first there are great Numbers in the Kingdom of *Dambea*; these were formerly very troublesome, pretending to live in an independent manner, without yielding either Tribute or Submission to the *Abyssinian* Emperors. These Princes for a Time wink'd at this, till an Opportunity serv'd for reducing them, against which, tho' to no Purpose, the *Jews* made a vigorous Resistance. Since then, many of them are turned Christians, and incor-

porated with the *Abyssines*; but the Remainder of them, now very numerous, are the most industrious Mechanics and Traders in the *Abyssinian* Empire. On the very Borders of this Country, on the other Side of the *Nile*, and among the barbarous People, there are many independent Colonies of *Jews*, of whose Government and manner of living very little Account can be given, except that they have the Scriptures of the Old Testament in *Hebrew*, speak themselves that Language corruptly, and most bitterly hate the Christians.

As to those who are *Jews* only by Descent, they are the famous Nation of the *Gaus*, *Gallas* or *Cballas*, which last I take to be their true Name, at least so themselves pronounce it. It signifies white Men, and yet these People are black. However, that they were once white is plain enough, for they have most of them Roman Noses, thin Lips, and comely Features. They are tall, robust, well-limb'd Men, very brave, but withal very cruel, and most abominable Thieves. It is not above an hundred Years that they have vexed the *Abyssinian* Empire, or indeed that they were ever heard of there; but in all probability it will be at least another

another hundred Years before the *Abyssinians* get fairly rid of them, for they are now settled up and down all the West Borders of the Empire. They live like the ancient Patriarchs, on the Product of their Herds and Flocks, never cultivating any Land, or building any thing more than Cabbins to cover them from the Weather. They worship one God, circumcise, and vehemently abhor Idolatry; but as for any other religious Tenets, it does not appear what they hold. When their Children are young, their Fathers regard them no more than Dogs; but when they are grown big enough to hunt, and to fight, then they treat them with all imaginable Kindness and Affection. These People are most justly accounted the most dangerous Enemies in the World; in offensive Wars they are generally victorious, and when they act on the defensive are always so. When they fight they either conquer or die; when they are attacked by a superior Force, they drive away their Cattle, and retire so quick, that their Pursuers are quickly involved in their inhospitable Country, where there is neither House, plow'd Field, or any thing which can furnish Subsistence; so that there is a Necessity of retiring *re infecta*; and
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it is well if these People do not incommode their Retreat. Their Armies are composed of Horse and Foot, the former are the more numerous, but the latter are the better Troops. They are divided into several Tribes, some say seven, others nine; but I believe that Point to be uncertain; they are governed by a single Magistrate, whom they stile *Luso*; he has the Authority of a limited Monarch, acting nothing but by the Consent of his Council. In Point of Promises, Treaties, or Agreements, these People are the most punctual in the World; when they make any it is with a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony, and they are never known to break them, or to deceive those who trust them. Such of their Children as have been left in *Abyssinia* in their sudden Retreats, and have been bred up there, prove strong, industrious, and beautiful Persons; and when thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion, are wonderfully pious, and much more constant than the *Abyssines*, readily braving Death, rather than abjure their Faith. About the Year 1648, these People broke at once in six or seven Places into *Abyssinia*, ravaging from South to North, and from West to East, killing and destroying without Mercy

Mercy all that came in their way, presuming so far, as to invest the *Turkish* Forts over-against the Isle of *Suakem*; but some Pieces of Cannon being discharged upon them, they retired from thence, and in about nine Months Space withdrew into their old Quarters. Since then they have made two other great Irruptions, and are continually making small Incursions; but in these they are content to plunder without doing any body any Hurt, unless they find them with Arms in their Hands. While I wandered about in this Country, my Profession made me every where welcome; and if the Inhabitants had been rich, I should doubtless have brought something considerable from thence. As it was, I collected in *Abyssinia*, chiefly in the South West Parts, eleven Ounces of Gold in Grains, three Topazes, one Emerald, and five greenish colour'd Stones, transparent, hard, and beautiful; but what they are called I know not.

HERE ends this Relation, excepting what the Author says of the River *Nile*, which I have inserted in another Place, for the Sake of uniting my own Observations with his, that the History of that noble River might not be broken or interrupted.

A DESCRIPTION of *EGYPT*, &c.

THE ordinary Custom of Travelers in mixing their Geographical, Philosophical, and Historical Remarks on Countries with the Thread of their Narratives, having often given me a great deal of Trouble in the Perusal of their Works, I therefore determined to essay another Method, which in Idea, at least, seem'd more distinct and intelligible; and this gave Birth to the ensuing Picture of the Country of *Egypt*, its Produce and Inhabitants, wherein I have studied to digest Things as naturally as I could, that their Connection might render them reciprocally clear, and the whole appear a Body of tolerable Symmetry, and not with such rickety and unproportionable Limbs as I have sometimes seen in Things of this Nature,

EGYPT then is in Scripture called either *Mizraim*, or the Land of *Cham*. The *Copti*, or natural Inhabitants of the Country, call it *Massr* or *Cbemi*, the *Turks* *Missar*. These are all in Effect one Name, and seem an evident Demonstration of the Veracity of the *Mosaic* Writings. As to the Name of *Egypt*, which with some difference

rence in the Orthography, is the Appellation this Country is known by in our Western parts, it is derived from the Story or Fable of the *Greeks* concerning *Egyptus*. But to pass from Names to Things.

EGYPT stretches itself from the 22 deg. to the 31 deg. of North Latitude, being bounded on the East by the *Isthmus* of *Suez*, a mountainous Country, which divides it from that part of *Arabia* lying between it and *Judea*. I say, it is bounded on this Side by these Mountains, and by the *Red-Sea*, which washes all its Coast up to its Southern Boundaries, which are the frontier Kingdoms of the *Abyssinian* Empire, viz. *Fungi* and *Sennaar*, on the West it hath the great Desarts of *Afric*, to which I chuse to give no Name, because the Names we give serve only to confound us ; on the North it hath the *Mediterranean* Sea. And we may safely affirm, that there is not a Country in the Universe better situate for Defence than this

MANY Authors affirm, that the Letter Y affords an easy and accurate Notion of the Form of *Egypt*. At one Point they place the City of *Rosetta*, the City of *Damietta* at the other ; *Grand Cairo* at the Junction of these Limbs with the Body of

of the Letter, and the Cataracts of the *Nile* at the Foot of it. To me these Notions seem trivial and puerile, and much more capable of doing Hurt, than Good. I grant that this Description suits the *Nile* well enough ; but I deny that it gives any tolerable Account of *Egypt*, because the City of *Alexandria* lies a great Way on one Side of the Y, as the *Isthmus* of *Suez* does on the other. A Chain of Mountains run from South to North, on the East Side of the *Nile*, and another Chain of Mountains run from South to North, on the West. At *Cairo* these Mountains open and turn off with the two great Branches of the River ; those on the East remain still high and arduous Mountains ; but those on the West dwindle into sandy Hillocks, and form a kind of Downs. The Plain included between these Ridges, the middle of which is occupied by the *Nile*, is in some Places very narrow, in others, as in the Province of *Fium*, of considerable Breadth ; but it is every where fertile, and well cultivated. The Mountains on the West are the Boundaries of *Egypt*, and have Desarts behind them ; but the Mountains of the East are not so, they have behind them a Plain for the
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most part sandy and uninhabitable, reaching to the Coast of the *Red-Sea*.

THIS Description seems to have little Affinity with those magnificent ones, which are to be met with in ancient Authors ; but this I cannot help, I am bound to speak Truth, yet I cannot avoid owning, that I think they spoke Truth too. For tho' it is certain that there is scarce any Proportion between the Number of People which are now in *Egypt*, and the Number reported to have dwelt there formerly, yet it is as certain, that there is as great a Disproportion between the Number of People in other Parts of the *Grand Seignior's* Dominions, and those that are here still. For my own part, I am fully persuaded, that a very great Proportion of that Part of *Egypt* which is now inhabitable, was formerly not only sprinkled with Cities, but very fruitful and pleasant.

ALL this was occasioned by the Industry of the ancient Inhabitants, and the Wisdom of their Kings, as the present deplorable State of these Places are the Result of the Laziness of the People, and the Folly of their Governors. *A pleasant Land maketh he barren for the Wickedness of those who dwell therein*, saith the inspired Writer ; and this is just as true as that
 God

God made the World. In another Place it is said, *that God gives Kings in his Wrath, and Governors in his sore Displeasure.* Here is an exact Account of what happens to all Countries, and what must happen to all. A religious and virtuous People have religious and virtuous Princes, these contrive good Things, and execute them with Spirit; a vicious and degenerate People have Kings given them in Wrath, and they depopulate the Country, and make War on Nature; this makes the Difference between the ancient and modern *Egypt*, as it also does between *Switzerland*, and the *Campania di Roma*.

THE Air of *Egypt*, according to some Writers, is the most foul and unwholesome in the World, in the Judgment of others, the most serene and salubrious. For my own part, I think them both in the right, and both in the wrong, as I shall shew by stating this Matter truly. *November, December, and January*, are the Winter Months, wherein the *Franks* and the *Turks* wear Garments lined with Furs, believing the Weather to be very cold; in fact however it is not so, but the Disposition of their Bodies makes them have very quick Sensation, as I easily discerned by myself. I arrived in the
Winter,

Winter, and thought the Weather very moderate ; but the next Winter I felt it very cold, and yet by my Glafs it appeared that the former Winter had been colder. To the Winter fucceeds a Spring of about fix Weeks, which is very pleasant. About the *Vernal Equinox* the South Winds begin to blow, and they blow more or lefs till the Sun reaches the Tropic of *Cancer*. The *Arabians* call thefe Winds *Chamsin*, i. e. of *Cambyfes* ; becaufe it was by thefe Winds that his Army perished in their *Ethiopian* Expedition ; then it is that *Egyptian* Air is unwholesome. Thefe Winds blow fometimes three, four, or five Days together, and then for a Day or two there is a Breeze from the North ; fometimes they blow for nine, ten, eleven, or twelve Days, and then the Air is peftiferous, and Multitudes die of an Hour's Sicknefs. All this however is uncertain, for fome Years they do very little Mifchief, and in other Years again they do a great deal. This only is certain, that they begin to blow about the Equinox, and that they ceafe blowing on the rifing of the *Nile*, viz. 17th of *June*. Immediately after this, the North and Weft Winds blow constantly Night and Day, and fo temper the Heat of the Climate,

that

that it is far from being either intemperate or unwholesome. This pleasant Season of the Year continues from the middle of *June* till towards the End of *September*, during which Space the Country being overflowed, the Inhabitants give themselves up wholly to Pleasure, to which indeed they are always prone.

THAT *Egypt* on the whole is far from being unwholesome, appears from the Temper of the Natives, from their enjoying almost a constant State of Health, unless interrupted by some exterior Accident, or some wrong Management of their own, and by their *Longevity*, there being in this Country Numbers upwards of fourscore, so robust in their Constitutions, as not only to use Women, but to beget Children. The Soil of *Egypt*, as it lies in the fourth and fifth North Climate, ought to be fertile, yet I think that properly speaking it is not so, but rather quite the contrary, as abounding with Salt and Nitre, and in some Places mixt with Sand. But the Mud left by the *Nile* covering and mixing with these, produces a Soil fruitful to a Miracle. But where the *Nile* comes not these Advantages are wanting, and the Soil is perfectly barren, but not useless, as we shall see hereafter. They dig

dig various Clays, fit for different Purposes; some are of the Nature of Fuller's Earth, some serve to cleanse, to strengthen and to give a bright yellow Colour to the Ladies Hair; some are medicinal, and in that Respect of great Value; but most of them are fit for making Earthen Ware, especially for Water Jars, which for cooling and clearing the Liquid contained in them, excel all the Earthen Ware in the World. Near the Burgh of *Chasagbut* in the Upper *Egypt*, they dig a Clay of a pale Pink Colour, of which they make all sorts of Vessels, and of a very high Price, on Account not only of their Beauty, but of their odoriferous Smell, which they never lose

As to the other Commodities resulting from the Soil of *Egypt*, we will divide them into such as are found thereon, such as grow therein, and such as are produced thereby. Of the first the principal are Salt and Nitre. As to the Salt of *Egypt*, it is without all Comparison the best in the Universe, the Reason of which I take to be, that it is strictly speaking the Manufacture of Nature. After the Recess of the *Nile* it is found spread upon the Earth like a white Sheet, in such Quantities, that it bears a small Price,
neither

neither do they hinder any body from gathering what may suffice for his own Use. It is white as Snow, hard as Sand, peculiarly fine in its Taste, which is simply pungent without any Bitterness. *Nitre*, which the *Arabs* call *Natron*, is not so easily had, neither is it taken out of the Earth in all Parts of *Egypt*. An *Arabian* Prince who resides at *Laux*, and who hath three hundred and sixty Hamlets or Villages under his Dominion, employs constantly fifty Camels in carrying *Nitre* to *Cairo*. It is thought that he sells annually as much as comes to 100,000 *Sequins*. There are two sorts of *Nitre*, the one of Rose Colour, very hard and weighty, this they call *Sultani*, the other white and light, and less valued, called *La Sultani*. *Sal Ammoniacum*, or as we call it *Sal Armoniac*, is also made in *Egypt* with great Facility, and to the great Profit of such as deal in it.

As to the Riches which are found in the Heart of the Soil, we must reckon among them that vast abundance of Marble which is met with in Upper *Egypt*, an exact Description of the several Sorts whereof would take up a Volume; I shall content myself with saying, that there are Mines of an *Onyx* Colour, the Stones dug out of which are nearly transparent; there are
others

others of a Honey Colour, wonderfully bright and shining; also a sort of green Marble regularly sprinkled with Blood-red Spots; *Propbyry* in abundance, and in the extreme Parts of *Egypt* towards *Ethiopia*, a hard, red, shining Stone, with golden Streaks and Spots. As to precious Stones, I have already said enough concerning Emeralds; and besides these there are Crysolites, Heliotropes, Jaspers, and I have been told Topazes; but I cannot affirm it. There is also a blue Stone of great Beauty, which differs from the Turquoise as well as from the Sapphire, being opaque like the former, but in Colour inclining to the latter, curiously sprinkled as it were with Grains of Gold. Eagle Stones are also found here very commonly. Vitriol, Allom, and *Lapis Calaminaris* are found there in abundance; all excellent in their Kind.

To speak of all the Plants of *Egypt*, would require more Time and Experience than any Traveller, who did not go thither for that purpose, can bestow; I shall content myself therefore with touching on a few Curiosities that seldom escape the Knowledge and Admiration of intelligent Enquirers. There grows in *Egypt* a kind of Night-shade, call'd by the Inhabitants

tants *Datura*. The Blossom of this Plant is sweet-scented, and it produces a round Fruit inclosed in a prickly Shell, the Core of which Fruit is full of yellow Seeds. I do not know any Good that can be done either with the Fruit or Flowers, but with the Seeds they do a great deal of Mischief, for grinding them when dry, they make a Powder or Meal, which without casting Men into a Sleep, or apparent Heaviness, disorders, or rather locks up the Senses. Thieves mix it up in Bread, and travelling in a Caravan, find Means to slip it upon some of their Companions, from whom, an Hour after they have eaten thereof, they take what they please, the Men being senseless, and make the best of their Way. There is an Herb, call'd *Culcas* by the *Arabs*, by us *Colocasia*, mightily esteemed by the Inhabitants, who eat it raw and boiled; it is of a windy flatulent Nature, but is a strong Provocative, and therefore these People exceedingly delight in it. The *Papyrus* grows in the *Nile*, having a strong Root, and many strait Stalks, very high above the Water; its Leaves are triangular, and pretty thick in the middle. This was, heretofore, the all-useful Plant, now of no use at all. The Natives call Cucumbers,

cumbers, *Chate*; and *Egypt* may be properly stiled their Country, for they grow there to an excessive Bigness, are almost transparent, but at the same time their Juices so thoroughly concocted by the Sun, that they are at once much pleasanter than our Cucumbers, and perfectly innocent; so that they are eaten in Fevers. In the Neighbourhood of *Alexandria* there grow in great Plenty a kind of Trees call'd *Dackel*, or *Dadel*, peculiar to this Country; and which though they seldom shoot high, bear a very large Fruit. There is no Part of this Tree which is not of Use; the Stalk or Body of it is cut into sound Timber; its Boughs are turned into all Sorts of Wooden Ware; with its Leaves they wrap up Things; of its Bark they make Packthread, and a sort of Ropes; and its Fruit hath a wonderful rich fine Taste. As to Grain and Pulse, they have all Sorts in great Plenty, and excellent, especially Wheat and wild Rice, with this peculiar Advantage, that they are never at the Trouble of plowing or of weeding; they only scatter the Seed in the Mud, then draw a wooden Harrow over it, and so let it rest till Harvest.

As to the Birds of *Egypt*, they have most of the sorts which are common in

Europe, as well as many that we have not ; Quails in such abundance, that the Country People take them with their Hands, but then their Flesh is black, hard, and ill-tasted. The Merchants at *Alexandria* buy them alive, feed them in Coops, and thereby remove that offensive Bitterness which they have from their wild Food. Turtles also abound here, and build about their Houses. They have also very good Pigeons, and in great Plenty ; Swallows of two Sorts, which I think very remarkable ; one, which is exactly like ours, and a Bird of Passage ; the other, of a darker Colour, and without any Mixture of white, which stays in *Egypt* the whole Year. Geese and Swans are frequently seen swimming in the Branches of the *Nile*. Storks and Cranes are common ; and many of the great Men keep of the former tame. Hawks there are excellent in their Kind, and which formerly were sold into *Europe* at great Prices ; as also Kites, which the *Arabs* and *Moors* know how to tame, and to make use of in Fowling. In the Deserts, towards *Suez*, there are Ostriches, but it is thought they are not Natives of *Egypt*, but Inmates only from the neighbouring Countries. Our common Hens are the Fowls

Fowls most eat in *Egypt*, where they have two Sorts, one of the same Size with ours, the other very little inferior to Geese in Bigness, both very cheap, and easily to be had every where. Besides these, they have a kind of Fowl brought from *Numidia*, the Flesh of which is very fine, and well tasted; this is one of their greatest Dainties, and sold dear. As they hatch all their Eggs in Ovens, their Hens are consequently never broody; and Eggs also are very plenty, which is necessary, because they make a great Part of the Food of the common People.

THE *Nile* is very well stored with Fish, and the Fish therein are remarkably large and fat, particularly a kind of Pike, excessively voracious, and which sometimes come to be so large as to weigh eighty Pounds. Eels are here in great Plenty, and high Perfection, some as thick as a Man's Arm, but they are not wholesome at all Times; and in the Months of *April* and *May* especially they are so dangerous, that many People have been poisoned by eating them. There is a broad fat Fish in the *Nile*, which though it differs widely from ours in Form, yet all the *Europeans* here will have to be a Tench, because the Flesh tastes like that

of a Tench, and is therefore very much esteemed. There are also spotted Mulletts, that are much valued, and are indeed a fine firm Fish. In the *Nile* likewise are abundance of Tortoises, very large, and their Flesh very sweet and good, especially when thoroughly boiled, otherwise it is unwholesome. The Cities of *Alexandria*, *Rosetta*, and *Damietta*, are furnished with all Sorts of Sea-Fish in the highest Perfection, and at very low Prices. Of these I shall only mention Soles, which are of an extraordinary Size, and yet perfectly well tasted. They salt a great deal of Fish for Exportation, as also the Spawn of Fish, which is of a very high Relish, and is call'd *Botarac*. From the Fish I think it is most natural to proceed to the Insects, of which there are great Variety in *Egypt*.

THE Ants there are excessively large, and very furious, stinging or biting such as disturb them with as much Rage as a Dog, whereby they excite a burning Anguish which continues for a long Time, and is not easily cured. Some of them have Wings, and these are still more troublesome. Flies and Gnats sting here more than any where else, and there are such abundance of the latter, that without defending

defending the Beds by Nets, there would be no such thing as sleeping. Studious Persons, and such as are much within Doors, are forced to have Nets at their Windows, and at their Chamber-doors, to prevent these troublesome Guests from entering. There are many kinds of Spiders, large and venomous, with these the *Ichneumon Wasp* is continually at War; and nothing can be more entertaining than to observe the Arts made use of by these Enemies to incline Victory to their Side. There are abundance of *Bees*, especially on the Banks of the *Nile*, where in hollow Trees, or in Caverns, they fix their Combs, and make both excellent Honey and Wax. There are many Scorpions in *Egypt*, but all of them either white or green; they do not exceed those of *France* in Size, but in Venom they transcend those and all other Creatures in the World. The white are less venomous than the green, that is to say, their Poison does not operate so soon; but with Respect to both, an Amputation of the bitten Limb is the sole Expedient for preventing Death in a few Hours time with incredible Torture. Yet the *Moors*, who make a Trade of catching these Creatures for the Use of Apothecaries

who make an Oil of them, which is valuable; these *Moors*, I say, lay hold of them without Fear, with their bare Hands, carry them in their Bosoms, take them out from thence, and put them into the Apothecaries Vessels, without the least Apprehension; neither hath it been known that any of these People have been bit; for I suppose if they were, they would not escape better than the *Whites*. As to black Scorpions, or flying ones, of which some Authors speak very confidently, and many People in *Egypt* are ready to assert that such Creatures there are, I shall only say that I never saw any, nor ever heard any Person of Credit assert that he had himself seen any such. Serpents and Snakes there are of innumerable Kinds; I shall mention only a few. Of Asps there are three Sorts. The first of these is the spitting or spewing Asp, so call'd from its ejecting its Poison thro' its Teeth. The Antients call'd it *Phytas*; and this was the Serpent *Cleopatra* made use of when she resolved to end her Misfortunes by Death. This Serpent is about three Feet long, and rather bigger than our Viper; its Bite is mortal, and generally esteemed incurable; but this is far from being a proper Description of the Nature of its Venom,

Venom, which is very singular. It is thought that this Creature ejects less in Quantity than any other of the Kind; however that it be, it is certain that the Punctures made by its Teeth are scarce discernable. After a Person has been bitten about an Hour, he finds himself heavy and inclined to sleep, without any Pain or Disorder of Mind; by degrees, however, he finds his Limbs lose their Strength, a kind of pleasing Stupidity invade his animal Faculties; and so he dies without a Groan or a Complaint. The second sort of Asp, in Colour, Shape, and Length, resembles a *Pike*. The last Sort are from fifteen to eighteen Inches long, their Bellies white, their Backs of a very deep blue; they have their Holes in the Banks of the *Nile*, from whence they spring with a terrible and fatal Fury. Amputation is the only Cure, and where that cannot be had, the Patient dies in terrible Agonies. The Horn Serpent is a great Curiosity; the *Egyptians* call it *Tahyr*; and the Antients have abundance of odd Stories about it. After all, it is far from being uncommon, and a little Care is sufficient to remove all the Doubts that have been raised concerning it. It is of a yellow Colour, about eighteen Inches

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long,

long, a round slender Body, with a broad flat Head ; the Females have at the Corner of their Eyes two strong pointed Horns ; the Male hath but one, which is towards his Nose. They live chiefly in dry Places, and are thought to draw their Nourishment from Nitre and Salt. They are extremely venomous, and those who are bitten by them die of Thirst, which no Art can palliate. As to Serpents of great Magnitude, they are not frequently seen, but there are certainly in *Egypt* some as thick as a Man's Thigh, and fifteen or twenty Feet long : But for Dragons and flying Serpents, I am apt to believe they rather live in the Heads of fanciful Men, than either in this or any other Country. I will conclude this Article with an Account of the most wonderful, though the most common Serpent in *Egypt*. This is call'd by the Inhabitants *Tobbam*, and is generally between three and six Feet long, though some have been seen a great deal bigger. It hath a fleshy Substance reaching on each Side of its Neck from its Jaw to about a third Part of its Body; this it either stiffens or contracts as it will, and thereby not only erects itself in a surprising Manner, but also throws itself forward as if it flew. It is usually found in
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the *Catcombs*, and among ancient Ruins ; but its Affection for Men, as it is very singular, so it is also unaccountable. If the Juglers only, who never fail to have many of these Species of Serpents, were possessed of the Skill of taming them, it would be less wonderful ; but this is so far from being the Case, that all degrees of People who delight in Animals feed and keep these Creatures about them. They are not only tame and innoxious, but also useful and docible, to a degree beyond our Dogs in *Europe*, inso-much that nothing can be more diverting than to see them play over the Tricks they are taught.

OF Scaly Lizard-like Animals, there are great Variety in *Egypt*, particularly the *Cameleon*, which resembles much an ordinary Lizard, yet is it far less beautiful, neither has it almost any of those Properties for which it was celebrated by the Antients. It is so far from living upon Air, that it is a very voracious Animal, maintaining itself by catching and eating of Flies. As to changing of Colour, that too is a Mistake, unless its having a changeable colour'd Skin may pass for a Wonder. As to its Eye turning every Way, therein the Description is

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right,

right, for it doth so in a very odd Manner, one Eye looking forwards, and the other frequently behind; and this Provision Nature hath made that it may easily catch its Prey. The *Scinos*, or Land-Crocodile, is a very exact Copy of the Water One, but very little and harmless, feeding mostly upon Flowers and Herbs, especially such as are of a sweet Smell. The Crocodile itself delights in the *Nile*, but more in the great Lakes formed by Channels, derived from thence. In the *Delta* there are sometimes Crocodiles seen, but small and lean; this the Inhabitants of *Egypt* ascribe to the Power of a *Talisman*; but the true Reason seems to be the Number of Boats on the River, and of Villages on its Banks, for the Crocodiles naturally fly from and avoid Men in Companies; for if they are single, and in the Upper *Egypt*, they will venture to attack them. The Antients have certainly reported abundance of things falsely of this Creature, for which there was the less Occasion, since in itself it is a wonderful Creature, as well as most terrible and cruel. It is believed to grow as long as it lives, and it is certain that some have been seen upwards of thirty Feet long. It runs swiftly, but cannot easily turn; its
great

great Strength lies in its Tail, which it uses very nimbly, striking its Prey therewith, and so stupifying it before it eats it. Some have spoken of tame Crocodiles, but surely with little Certainty, since at *Cairo* it is known by Experience that when a young Crocodile is taken, it will refuse Meat till it dies. The Female Crocodile lays about sixty Eggs at a time; they are not bigger than those of a Goose; the young Crocodiles are small in Proportion, but they are amazingly swift in their Growth. They are taken by various Arts; and some of the *Moors* are so hardy, that with a strong Rope they will venture into the *Nile*, and after a long Combat, drag out a Crocodile, and bring him to *Cairo*, where they first make a kind of Show of him, and then kill him.

THE Inhabitants of *Egypt* are *Copts*, or *Cophti*; *Jews*, *Moors*, *Arabs*, *Turks*, and *Franks*, or *European Christians*, Of all these in their Order. The *Copts*, or *Cophts*, are the natural Inhabitants of this Country. This Name signified originally the Inhabitants of the *Coptic Nome*, the Capital of which was the City of *Coptos*, but by degrees it hath been extended to all the *Egyptian Christians*. In like manner the *Arabians* stiled them *Kibthi*, from *Kibth*, which

which is the modern Name of the ancient City of *Coptos*. These poor People may be justly reckoned among the most dejected and distressed Nations in the Universe. The *Turks*, and all the *Mohammedans* in *Egypt*, treat them with the opprobrious Name of Infidels; and, on the other hand, the Christians, in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, look upon them as Heretics. Thus are they persecuted and despised by Friends and Strangers, and lead their Lives in the most abject Sort of Slavery that can be imagined. They were formerly very numerous, but at present they are much reduced, and daily decreasing. The Language they use is peculiar to their Nation, and seems to be a Compound of the ancient *Egyptian*, and of the *Greek* Tongue as it was spoken by the Soldiers of *Alexander* the Great. In respect to their religious Tenets, they have been grossly misrepresented; and though it be true that they are not a learned or very quick-witted Nation, yet are they far from being so stupid or ignorant as they are generally represented.

It is certain that they are zealous Christians, and that they have very just Notions of the Causes and Consequences of

of CHRIST's Coming, whom they stile the *Messiah*. They baptize by three Immersions, invoking the Persons of the Holy Trinity separately, namely, one at each Immersion. They likewise use many Unctions with that Ceremony. When any of them are indisposed, the Priest comes and prays by them, and not only anoints the sick Person, but also all who are present with him in the Room with consecrated Oil; for which they assign this Reason, that the Disease may not retire from the sick Person to any of his Friends, which they believe to be prevented by this general Unction. The *Roman* Catholicks affect to treat this Proceeding with great Contempt; and yet an indifferent Person will be apt to think that it is just as well founded as theirs. In giving the Eucharist they are very singular, for to Infants, immediately after Baptism, they give only the Wine; to Men they give the Communion under both Species; and to the Women, who offer their Devotions without the Sanctuary, they give the Bread only, having first moistened it with a drop or two of the Wine. Confession to Priests they permit, but they do not compel it; they fast constantly on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, and observe besides

fasts three *Lents* in the Year; but then they eat Flesh on all the *Sundays* in the Year, and every *Saturday*, except the *Saturday* in the Holy Week. They are wonderfully sincere in all their Acts of Devotion; and though their extreme Poverty, and that excessive Dejection of Mind which is derived from thence, makes them contemptible in the Eyes of the *Franks* in general, yet those who endeavour to lay aside these Prejudices, cannot but receive much Edification from the Purity of their Lives, and the Humility of their Deportment.

THEIR Clergy consists of Subdeacons, Deacons, Priests, Bishops, Archbishops, and a Patriarch, who sits in the Chair of *St. Marc*, whose Successor he is by an uninterrupted Chain of Prelates, which gives him a great Authority in this Part of the World. Their Bishops are eleven in Number, their Patriarch making the twelfth. As for the last he is a Monk, one, of whose Chastity there is no Suspicion, and who is generally compell'd to take upon him this high Office. He is a kind of Prince or Judge of his People, and besides consecrates the *Abuna*, or Patriarch of *Ethiopia*. To this Patriarch of the *Copts*, who is generally stiled Patriarch of

of *Alexandria*, there belongs a Revenue of near six thousand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*, all of which he bestows in the Relief of the Poor, or on national Occasions, reserving for his own Subsistence the Alms of good Christians, which he asks with great Humility, and lives upon them very frugally, riding up and down on an Ass without any other Ensign of Dignity than his pastoral Staff. The greatest of their Errors seems to be that of Circumcising, which is either the Remains of some *Judaical* Notion, or which is more probable, hath been introduced since the Conquest of *Egypt* by the *Mohammedans*, in Complaisance to them. But this Practice begins to be disused, and several of their Patriarchs have declared against it. Their Monks live in Desarts, in large Monasteries, where they fare very hardly, labour with their Hands, and spend all their Time in Acts of Piety and Charity, which they exercise chiefly towards the *Arabs*, who travelling in these waste Places, find themselves often on the Point of perishing for Want, from which they are delivered by the Supplies afforded them by these Monks. As to the Laity, they are either industrious Mechanics, laborious Peasants, or Stewards

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to *Turkish* Lords, who make Choice of them for their remarkable Fidelity. With Trade they meddle not, lest it should corrupt their Manners : And so strictly are they bound to their Religion and their Country, that no Prospects of Preferment can ever allure them to think of quitting *Egypt*, or changing that laborious Life which they lead there for one more commodious in another Place.

THE *Jews* are very numerous here, for which there is a very good Reason, viz. the great Conveniency they have of getting Money, for which, it is well known, that they compass Sea and Earth, and neglect no Methods of attaining it that their own quick Wits suggest. There are certainly forty thousand at least in *Egypt*, who all live upon the Labours of others ; for except a few Toys and childish Baubles, they make nothing themselves ; but by Peddling, Quacking, acting as Brokers, and above all, turning Collectors of the Revenue, Tax-gatherers, and Financiers, they make a Shift to amass Fortunes at the Expence of the People, which they seldom live to enjoy, at least in Quiet, for Reasons that will hereafter appear. The common Opinion is, that the Climate and Soil of this Country

try transform all its Natives into perfect *Egyptians*, that is, into Men without Will to labour, Courage to fight, or Ambition to distinguish themselves any other Way, Finery excepted. The *Jews*, however, escape this Infection pretty well, and seem to preserve their Subtilty, Avarice, and adulatory Address, as well here as in other Parts of the World. There is no sort of Trade carried on without their having not only a Share therein, but the principal Direction thereof: So that *Christians* and *Turks* are constrained to make use of them, though the former are always diffident of them, and the latter despise and detest them. As a Proof of this, I need only observe, that the *Mohammedan* Divines assign to the wicked *Jews* the lowest Parts of Hell, where they fancy they are confined separately from those of their Religion, and from the Christians. Whenever they speak of them, they do it in Terms of Hatred and Contempt; and yet their most important Affairs are managed by them, of which, as near as I can, I shall endeavour to point out the Reasons.

THE *Jews*, as they are scatter'd over the Face of the Earth, so they maintain amongst themselves a very strict and regular

gular Correspondence ; this gives them vast Advantages, especially among People who keep no Correspondence at all ; and therefore the Need they have of them obligesthe *Turks* to employ them. Again, their Skill in Money-Matters, their Knowledge in Trade, their Acquaintance with the Means of felling or procuring any thing that is offered or wanted, renders them a sort of Tools which are not only convenient, but which Men, like the *Turks* and *Arabs*, cannot be without. But above all, their Subtilness, their Fawning, their mean Condescensions, and their adroit Flattery, makes them the properest Agents in the World for the *Turkish* Officers, who are equally indolent and proud, desirous of enjoying all Things, and who notwithstanding cannot bear the Thoughts of doing any thing. Hence from the Bashaw of *Cairo*, down to the Aga in any garrison'd Place, there is not one of them but hath *Jews* about him, by whose Advice and Assistance he pillages the People, and enriches himself. The *Jews*, however, here, and throughout all the *East*, affect to distinguish themselves from the *Jews* of the *West*, (who also come on their Occasions into these Parts of the World) and treat them as if they were much below them, chiefly

chiefly on this Account, that they boast of having preserved greater Privileges in the *East* than their Brethren have in the *West* ; as also that their Copies of the Scripture are purer and more correct ; whereas the *Turks* stick not to affirm, that they have corrupted the Scriptures, which is the Reason they assign for their being punished more in the other World than any other Nation. Many of these People pretend to Skill in Physic, but few of them are any better than Empirics, excessively ignorant, and as excessively arrogant. There are also abundance of them Astrologers, Geomantists, and Professors of other occult Sciences ; but miserable Professors they are, for if their Impudence be excepted, which is indeed superior to other People's in a superlative degree, they have seldom the common Rudiments of Knowledge even in those Arts in which they boast themselves Proficients.

In Imposture they have gone farther than any other Nation, which is the sole Reason, as I apprehend, that the Story of the wandering *Jew* hath circulated over all the World, and is equally believed by the Vulgar in *China* and in *Great Britain*. The *Mohammedans* tell us very seriously that he is *Zerid*, a Descendent from *Elias*,
and

and that he was seen by one of their Prophet's Commanders in a certain high Mountain, where he told him that he had remained all this time alive by the Command of JESUS CHRIST, and that he was to attend his second Coming, of which he pretended to acquaint the *Arab* with certain Marks or Tokens, not unlike those, which in the *Revelations* are made coincident with the coming of Antichrist. The Christians again, I mean the Oriental Christians, have contrived a very orderly Story on this Head, from which they seldom or never vary; and the Substance of it is this, that the Name of the wandering *Jew* is *Joseph*, and that he was an Usher to *Pilate*, in which Quality pushing our Saviour out of the Palace with opprobrious Language, JESUS turned and said, *The Son of Man goeth hence, but thou shalt remain here until I come.* Struck with these Words, it is said that he became a Convert to the Christian Religion, and hath since that Time wandered up and down the World, renewing his Age after this Manner. When he attains the Age of an hundred, he falls first into Convulsions, and then into a Swoon, or deep Sleep, from which he awakens in the full Vigour of a Man of forty-five. They pretend that

that his Memory remains perfect, and that he is able to give a distinct Account of whatever hath come to his Knowledge throughout all the Time he has lived. Dr. *Salviati* assured me that such a Person had been seen about the middle of the sixteenth Century in *Germany*, where though he was very strictly examined by *Jews* as well as *Christians*, they were unable to detect him in any Falshood : And I have been also told, that a Person assuming this Character had been seen in *Egypt* several times. All the Use I make of this Relation is, to shew the universal Prejudice of the Inhabitants of all Countries against this unhappy People, whose Dispersion, and the Circumstances attending it, afford such convincing Proofs of the Truth both of the *Mosaic* and *Christian* Revelations, as might convince any Man who would be at the Pains to consider them attentively.

UNDER the general Name of *Moors* I comprehend all the *Mohammedans* from *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli* *Fez* and *Morocco*, who flying from the Poverty of their native Countries, come by Multitudes into *Egypt*, to pick up a miserable Subsistence, by all Sorts of slavish Employments, or by downright begging. To say that these
People

People are treated with the utmost Scorn and Indignity by the *Turks*, is to give them no distinguishing Character at all, since they treat without Distinction all the Peasants and Villagers in *Egypt*, whom they stile *Felacs*, in the same way. They impose on them what Tasks they think fit, exact Obedience by any Means rather than fair ones, abuse and maltreat them with their Tongues and with their Hands ; and after all this, if the poor Wretches should make the least Resistance, Death would certainly be the End of all their Miseries. What Wonder then that these hopeless People should be timid in their Natures, whose Spirits are broken from their Infancy, and in whom the Disposition of a manly appearance would be fatal ? Hence the Word *Felac* is amongst the better sort of People of all others the most outrageous Reproach, as carrying in it an Impeachment of a Man's Understanding, Morals, and Bravery, sinking them at once into the Rank of Blockheads and Cowards. But to return to the *Moors*.

IN a Country where there are so many who require Service, and where no Man will labour who can subsist in ever so poor a manner without it, there must be occasion sufficient for many Hands, and this

is that which invites these poor People to *Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta*, and other Towns in *Egypt*, where they let out Asses, work in the Gardens, ply as Porters, and perform whatever else is required of them for such daily Wages as in *England* would scarce be offered to a Beggar at the Door. Bread, Herbs and Salt, are all their Subsistence, and tho' they live in a Land of Plenty, yet they look like so many Ghosts, especially where their Numbers very much exceed the Necessities of their Masters, as frequently happens, and then the Fear of their thieving or doing worse Mischiefs, obliges the Inhabitants of the Places to which they resort, to drive them away by Force. A few *Moors* of Quality indeed do reside in *Egypt*, and live there in Reputation and Splendor; because, as I shall hereafter shew, this is a sort of privileged Place, to which Men from all Countries retire to live at Ease on that Wealth which would be fatal to them elsewhere, and which is also sometimes fatal to them here. All these *Moors* are alike zealous *Mohammedans*; and tho' in other Respects many of them are ignorant to the last Degree, yet in reciting their Prayers enjoined by their Law, they shew a Fire and Spirit of Devotion, which would
be

be very edifying if it did not border a little on Enthusiasm. The *Franks* are as great Enemies to these People as the *Turks*, they speak of them always as if they were the Dregs of all Mankind, and alike void of Sense and Virtue ; to make up these Deficiencies, they allow them Vices without Number ; and yet when the Thing is candidly examined, it does not appear that these People are worse than their Neighbours. Their extreme Poverty tempts them to thieve, and the Severity with which they are used, extirpates in them that Compassion which usually attends human Nature. But is this Matter of Reproach towards them, or ought it not rather to fall upon those who hammer into them these base Notions by their bad Treatment ?

MEN are pretty much alike in all Countries and in all Climates ; it is the different Modes of governing, and various ways of living, which make Men in one Place so unlike Men in another ; and therefore in all Countries the Governors are responsible to reasonable Men here, and to the God of Truth and Justice hereafter, for the epidemic Errors of their People. If those who are intrusted with the Management of publick Affairs in *Egypt* would but think
it

it incumbent on them to contrive proper Means for the support of those over whom they rule, these wretched *Moors*, instead of being a Burthen and Disgrace to this Country, as now they are, might be employed in repairing publick Works, which would not only restore the ancient Lustre of *Egyptian* Magnificence, and exceedingly benefit all the Inhabitants of that vast Country, but also turn to the immense Profit of the *Grand Seignior*. This I am the rather persuaded of, from the Behaviour of the *Moors* in the Service of my Patron *Hassan*. They were most of them such as he pick'd up in *Egypt*, and set to work as much out of Charity, as for the Sake of what they did for him. These were all diligent, faithful, laborious Creatures; and in the Concerns I have had with any of that Nation, I have never been able to discover that the Prejudices against them were founded in any thing but their Misfortunes, their extreme Indigence, and their as extreme ill Usage. I do confess that this Opinion is singular, but singular Opinions are not always groundless. Most Men judge by Experience, and believe themselves justified in so judging; and therefore in following this Custom, I

rid myself of Singularity, and go in the beaten Track again.

BEFORE I quit this Subject, I cannot help taking Notice, that these *Moors*, who are thought to have scarce common Sense in *Egypt*, are in their own Countries known to be as artful, and as cunning, as any People in the Universe. The Christian Slave of *Hassan*, who brought me first to his Master's Acquaintance, furnish'd me with a Multitude of Instances in support of what I have advanced, amongst these I have selected *one*, which to me is not inferior to any Stratagem mentioned by the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors.

MOHAMMED *Almadi*, King of *Fez*, was a Prince who in his younger Years either had or affected a strong Passion for the Study of Divinity. The Ascendancy he gained over the Minds of Men, by being believed to have more Religion than is usually found in Heads covered with Crowns, enabled him to push Things farther than most of his Predecessors; all his Clergy were devoted to his Interests, his Nobility stood in great Fear of him, and his People really believed that in him were united the Characters of Prince and Prophet. The Inhabitants of a Country lying to the South of his Dominions, had

had erected a kind of *Aristocratical* Commonwealth, under which they lived, if not happily, at least much better than any of their Neighbours; and the Report of their being a rich and opulent People, vehemently spurred *Almadi* to attempt the bringing them under his Government.

WITH this View he set a great Army on Foot, marched into the Frontiers of his Neighbours, began to take their strong Places, and to ravage all the open Country. In vain the poor People opposed him, his Army was victorious in several Actions, tho' not without Loss, and he seemed to be on the Point of compleating his Design, when he was informed, that the Enemy had drawn together an Army superior to his own, in order to make their last Effort for the Preservation of their Country. *Almadi*, upon this, directed his March towards their Camp, and in a few Days a general Battle ensued, which for many Hours was fought with great Bravery and Resolution on both Sides. At length the Army of the King of *Fez* was constrained to retire, leaving many thousand dead Bodies on the Field of Battle.

THEN it was that the Soldiers for the first Time shewed a Dislike to their Prince's

Conduct. They said that he had led them far from their Families to perish in a Foreign War, meerly to gratify his Ambition ; that if, as he pretended, he had undertaken this Expedition by the Command of God, they should have been miraculously assisted, or at least they should not have been beaten ; and therefore they determined to compel him to retreat. *Almadi* having Intelligence of this mutinous Disposition, sent for a few of the Officers on whom he could depend, and having laid before them the Reasons he had to believe that the Enemy was in a worse Condition than they, he shewed them the Probability there was of perfecting the Conquest of this Country, if the Courage of his Soldiers could but be restored ; and in order to this, he proposed the following Expedient. That these Officers should in the dead of the Night go and lay themselves among the dead Men, from whence by the King's Orders they were to be brought off, and interr'd in certain Tombs which were in a Village hard by, and in which such Holes were made as were sufficient to furnish them with Air.

THIS Proposition being agreed to, and carried into Execution, *Almadi* assembled
other

other Officers, of whose Fidelity he doubted, and having reproached them with want of Loyalty, and the injurious Things they had said of him, he exhorted them to go to the Tombs of their Companions, and after recommending themselves to Heaven by Prayer, to enquire of the deceased Captains, whether the Promises he had made them of Felicity in the other World, were not accomplished to the full. These last mentioned Officers, in pursuance of the King's Instructions, went, accompanied with a great Company of Soldiers, where after solemn Prayer, they were surprized to hear the following Speech pronounced by a shrill Voice from one of the Tombs; *Fight valiantly, my Brethren, in the Cause of God and the King, since all who fall therein pass immediately to Paradise, and enjoy all the Bliss promised by our Prophet, let their past Life be ever so wicked.*

THE Troops inspired with new Valour retired from the Tombs, and having encompassed the Tent of their Prince, promised him to follow him chearfully wherever he pleased to lead them. *Almadi* thanked them in a long and pious Speech, and as soon as he had dismissed them,

went with a few Attendants to the Tombs, where he caused all the Air Holes to be stopped up, supposing that those who had served him so faithfully when living, ought not to refuse to die for him, when that alone was capable of furthering his Service. This I think is a sufficient Proof, that if the *Moors* are as wicked as our *Europeans*, they are likewise as capable of being wicked to some Purpose, if the Purposes of the Great deserve that Name.

THE *Arabs* in *Egypt* may be divided, as indeed they may be every where, into two Classes. Such as live in Towns, and who differ little from the rest of the *Egyptians*; and such as live altogether in the Desarts, and are, properly speaking, *Bedui* or *Arabi*, whom we call *Bedouins* and *Arabs*. As to those whom the *Turks* call *Cara Arabi*, or *Black Arabs*, they are properly speaking no *Arabs* at all, for by this Appellation they distinguish all such as have a Duskiness or Darkness in their Complexion, such as the Inhabitants of *Abyssinia*, *Nubia*, and the Lower *Ethiopia*. Most Travellers tell us, that the *Arabs* who inhabit Towns, are honester and more civilized than the wild *Arabs*, as they are pleased to call them, upon whom they bestow

bestow all the villainous Epithets that a heated Imagination can suggest. Yet is all this the Effect of downright Ignorance ; for in Truth these civilized *Arabs* are so corrupted by living among the *Turks*, that it is not very safe to trust them, while on the other hand the free *Arabs* are not only a generous and polite People, but are above all things remarkable for keeping their Faith, which they readily give to any Stranger who trusts them on his own Accord, and are never known to break it.

THE Reason why most of the *Franks* entertain such wrong Notions of these People, is because they will not take the Pains, or as they call it run the Hazard of being acquainted with them ; they are pleased with the *Arabians* in Cities, because they have a Frankness and Pleasantness in their Tempers, which is rarely met with in the *Turks* ; they are prejudiced against the other *Arabs*, by seeing them frequently brought to *Cairo*, and other Places, for robbing on the Highway, where they are constantly put to the most cruel Deaths, which they endure with what appears to be a brutul Obstinacy. All Nations, like all private Men, have their Faults, and as we are better acquainted

with our Neighbour's Failings than with our own, so the Inhabitants of one Country decry another on Account of Customs they do not understand. Instead of doing this, a wise Man makes it his Business to enquire narrowly into those Customs; for whatever some People may think, Surprise is always the Child of Ignorance. If we know little, we are apt to be surprized at every thing; but in Proportion as our Knowledge increases, this Disposition wears off. In like manner young Horses are apt to start, but when they have been compelled by the Spur to approach the Objects of their Fear, they are cured of this Vice; so much more judicious are we in managing our Horses than our Children. But to return from this Digression.

As the *Arabs* believe themselves descended from *Ishmael*, they are extremely proud of their Nobility, looking down with Contempt on the *Turks*, whom they regard as a mixt People, and consequently of mean Birth; for the Purity of their Families is with them the Ground of Nobility. They are however so modest as to confess that they are not able to trace their Genealogies so high as this Father of their Race, but content themselves with deriving their
Families

Families from some of his Descendents. The whole Nation is divided into Tribes, and those again are subdivided into Families, each of which has a Chief. Their sole Profession is Arms, for they think it beneath them to exercise any manual Trades, whereas the *Sciences* they exceedingly affect, especially Rhetoric and Poesy. They seldom care to come into Cities, tho' sometimes they do upon the publick Faith; for the *Turks* and they live in continual Hostilities. These People, I mean the *Arabs*, look upon it as a Disgrace to die in their Beds, and this it is that makes them so fearless in their Expeditions. If they are made Prisoners they so much disdain the *Turks*, that they will not vouchsafe to speak; but sometimes when they come to suffer Death, which is generally the terrible one of impaling, they converse with each other on indifferent Things, and so yield up their Breath with a Constancy, of which it is impossible to give a proper Description. I do not say that this Behaviour is right or commendable, but I say it is Heroism, tho' built on false Principles; for to conserve the Abilities of the Mind in the midst of Misfortunes and Pains, is the utmost Effect of human Courage, and is always admirable,

let its Cause be what it will. For my own part, the Courage of the *Arabs* appears more heroic to me, than the Courage shewn by Christians; because the Principles upon which Christians act are plain and simple, and provided they are truly Christians, it is impossible that Death should alarm them much; whereas the *Arabs* are generally governed by temporal Motives, which one would think should render Life dearer to them than they do. But Custom, Example, and above all the Exhortation of their Women, who place all the Merit of a Man in his Valour, brings them into such a stubborn Habit of supporting Evil, that the Patience of an *Arab* is in Practice a great deal superior to the Patience of a Stoic in Theory.

As to their Persons, the *Arabs* are generally middle-sized thin Men; their Features regular, their Presence noble and majestic, extremely nimble in their Motions, and the compleatest Horsemen in the World. In their Tempers they are generally grave, generous, full of Ambition, amorous, prone to the occult Sciences, and fond of Poetry to Excess, magnificent in their Habits where they have it in their Power; but frugal beyond Belief in their manner

manner of living, extremely tender of their Children, but too severe towards their Subjects and Slaves. I might extend this Character by digressing into a multitude of other Particulars, but I chuse rather to paint the *Arabs* from the Life, and by relating Facts to raise an Ideanearer Truth than any Description I can make would ever excite. The grand Characteristic of the Genius of the *Arabians* is a subtile Vivacity of Mind, of which the following Instance hath so charmed the Oriental Nations, that it hath been made the Subject of two long Poems, and indeed it is extremely well chosen, inasmuch as it unfolds exactly a Temper otherwise not easily represented.

THREE *Arabs*, Brethren of a noble Family, who were travelling together for the sake of improving their Minds, were met by Accident by a *Camel Driver*, who asked them, if they had not seen a Camel which had strayed from him in the Night? *Was not the Camel blind of an Eye?* said the eldest: *Yes*, said the Man. *It had a Tooth out before*, said the second: *It is very true*, replied the Man. *Was it not a little lame?* added the third: *Why really it was*, returned the Driver. The *Camel Driver* took it for granted that they had
seen

seen it ; and therefore besought them to tell him which way it went. *Follow us, Friend,* said they ; the Man did so. He had not gone far before he happened to say, that the *Camel was laden with Corn. And it had,* added the *Arabians, a Vessel of Oil on one Side, and a Vessel of Honey on the other :* *It had so,* said the Man, *therefore let me conjure you to tell me where you met it.* *Met it,* replied the eldest of the Brothers, *why we never saw your Camel at all.* The Man losing Patience at this, began to load them with Reproaches, and as they were passing through a Village raised the People upon them, and caused them to be apprehended. The Judge of the Village not being able to determine the Cause, sent them to the Prince of the Country, who perceiving by their Behaviour that they were Persons of Distinction, set them at Liberty, lodged them in his Palace, and treated them with all the Respect imaginable. After some Days were over, he took an Opportunity to intreat them to clear up this Mystery, by explaining to him how they could possibly hit upon so many Circumstances without ever having seen the Camel. The young Men smiled at the Importunity of the Prince, and after having returned him abundance of Thanks for the Civilities they

they had received, the eldest of them spoke thus: "*We are not either Deceivers or Necromancers, we never saw the Man's Camel, nor did we use any other Instruments of Divination than our Senses and our Reason. I for my part judg'd it was blind, because I observed the Grass eaten on one side of the Road, and not on the other. I, said the second, guessed it had lost a Tooth before, because where the Grass was crott closest, there was constantly a little Tuft left behind. And I, added the third, conceived it was lame, because the Prints of three Feet were distinct in the Road, whereas the Impression of the fourth was blurred; whence I concluded, that the Beast dragged it, and did not set it to the Ground. All this I apprehend, said the Prince; but how in the Name of Providence could you discover that Oil and Honey made a part of its Loading? Why, returned the Arabians, we guessed this, because on one side of the Road we saw little Troops of Ants ferriting the Grass, and cause on the other we saw the Flies assembled here and there in Groups, insomuch that few or none were on the Wing.*" Whether this Story be true or false, matters not much, since it so exactly expresses what it was

was meant to express, the quick and deep Penetration of the *Arabs*.

ALL their Sayings are strongly impregnated with this sort of Spirit; but it requires a kind of Enthusiasm to apprehend the force of them; for I have known *Europeans* of so phlegmatic a Temper, as to see nothing shining in their brightest Sayings. For Example, I heard a *German* Monk dispute the Elegance of the *Arabian* Maxim, *That in God is the sole Refuge from God*. By which they mean, that acquiescing in his Will is the sole Remedy against those Evils, which thro' the Course of Providence fall upon us, and hurt us only by our Impatience, since they are always intended for our Good, either here or hereafter, which if we understood, they would be no Evils at all.

THEY are extremely diffident of the *Turks*, whom they look upon as the most perfidious People in the World, and alledge this as a just Cause why they are continually exercising their People in ExcurSIONS, which very strongly resemble Robberies. During the Time I was in the Upper *Egypt*, I had the following Story from the Mouth of the *Bey*, who tho' the Subject, was yet the implacable Enemy of the *Grand Seignior*. *Hamet* Prince of
Sait

Sait was, in the beginning of the sixteenth Century, the most powerful Lord in *Egypt*; and having a just Conception of the Maxims of the *Turkish* Government, sent regularly the stipulated Tribute to *Cairo*, but would never be prevailed upon to go thither in Person, either by fair Means or foul. The Exploits he perform'd with great Bodies of Horse, that were always at his Command, against such of his Neighbours as justly incurred his Resentment, spread his Fame even as far as *Constantinople*, where it was resolved, that he should be taken off by some Means or other. The Report of the *Bassa* of *Cairo* demonstrated that this could not be done by Force; and therefore it was made a standing Instruction to all his Successors, to allure *Hamet* to *Cairo*, and there to secure his Person till the *Sultan's* Pleasure should be farther known. Several Years were elapsed before this could be brought about. At last *Hassan Bassa*, a Eunuch, a Man of great Experience and Address, by repeated Assurances of his Master's particular Respect and Favour towards this Prince, drew him to *Cairo*, attended by the *Bassa's* *Chiaja*, to do him the greater Honour. As they entered the Suburb *Bulack*, they saw a fine gilded Barge in the
Nile,

Nile, on board which were many *Chiaux* eating and drinking, who as soon as they saw the *Bey*, sent one of their Company to invite him to partake of their Repast. *Hamet* alighting from his Horse, went on board the Barge, but he was scarce fate down to Meat, before those who invited him seized his Arms and bound him ; however, before they could stop his Mouth, he cryed out to his People on Shore, and told them that he was betrayed. The *Arabs* were not above thirty in number, yet they plunged into the River to come to the Assistance of their Master. The *Turks* immediately issued from all the Posts where they lay in Ambuscade, but not Time enough to prevent the *Arabians* from delivering *Hamet*, and setting him on Horseback. They made no Doubt of retaking him when he came on Shore ; but they erred even in this, for he and his Attendants charged them so briskly, that tho' they were seven hundred in number, yet the *Arabs* broke through and escaped into the Desert, having slain fifty *Turks* in the Action. On his Return to *Sait*, the *Bassa* sent to compliment him, and to assure him that the Attempt was not made by his Order. *Hamet* answered, that he readily believed it was not, and that he had

had still so great a Confidence in the *Bassa*, as to rely upon his Interest for the Remission of a third part of his Tribute, which from this Time forward he reserved for his own Use, and the *Turks* were very glad he exacted no dearer Satisfaction; because all the *Arabs* in *Egypt* seemed inclined to resent the Affront, which if they had done the *Bey* might have brought a hundred thousand Horse into the Field; but he revenged himself with less Hazard.

HORSES are the great Riches, and almost the sole Instruments of Power which these *Arab* Princes possess. Of these they have Numbers in their Stables, all of them of great Value, and I was going to say, of great Quality also. The *Arabians* as they pique themselves on their own Nobility, so they are no less jealous of the Descent of their Horses, whose Genealogies they keep as exactly as their own; nor is a Horse ever parted without giving at the same Time an authentick Certificate of his Pedigree. The true *Arab* Coursers are not so beautiful to the Eye as the Horses bred in *Egypt*, but they are stronger, and of more Mettle. However the *Egyptian* Horses are very serviceable, and there need not be either for Shew or Use better Cavalry than the Troops in this Country, if the

the Men were as capable of Discipline as the Horses. The great Excellency of the *Arabs* lies in their Retreats, which they perform with such incredible Speed, and push their Horses up such Hills, and thro' such Woods and Morasses, as sets them quickly without the Reach of any Enemy; and as they never fly through Fear, gives them an Opportunity of considering how they shall next attack the Enemy, or provide for their safe Return into their own Territories. Their Horses as well as themselves bear not only Fatigue, but Want also, with incredible Fortitude. Next to their Horses, their Wealth consists in Camels, which they make use of to transport their Women, Children and Baggage, from Place to Place. These Creatures too are wonderful hardy, insomuch, that they will bear five Days want of Water very well, as the Horses will three. To enter farther into the Customs and Manners of the *Arabs*, would carry me into too long a Digression, especially, as I consider them only as settled in *Egypt*; and therefore I shall turn from them to the *Turks*.

IN order to have a distinct Idea of the *Turks* settled in *Egypt*, it is necessary to divide them into three sorts. The first consists

consists of such Persons, as having either suffer'd Disgrace at Court, or finding themselves without Employment on the Death of an Emperor, withdrew themselves into this Country to live at their Ease. Of these there are a considerable Number who enjoy in this delicious Kingdom all the Pleasures which Men of their Dispositions affect most, such as rich Habits, fine Houses, a great number of Slaves, and above all a *Serail* well filled with Women. What is most extraordinary is the number of *Eunuchs* who are settled here, who in all other Respects do not only support the Dignity of Men once eminent in Courts, but also in Women are more nice, have greater Variety of Mistresses, and part more freely with their Money for handsome Women, than any other Persons whatsoever: For this I have heard no good Reason assigned; and therefore I will not pretend to give any, much less my own Conjectures, which have at various Times been so different and so unsatisfactory, that I did not think them any way worthy of Preservation.

THE second sort of *Turks* are such as come hither in some sort of Office or other, and these lord it over all the rest of the People, with a Haughtiness mixt with such Meanness and Avarice, as will be made sufficiently apparent when I come to

speak of the Government of *Egypt*. These
 sort of Folks are ingeneral very rich ; for
 having it in their Power to extort what
 they please, and in their Will not to leave
 an *Asper* untaken which can be possibly
 got, having daily Presents from such as
 need their Favour, and seizing too fre-
 quently on the Goods of such as want
 Interest to support them against these Vio-
 lences, we may easily conceive, that while
 the rich Commodities of this noble Coun-
 try bring into it immense Sums from all
 Quarters, these Men have a very large
 Share.

The third sort of *Turks* are the Descendents
 of both the former sorts, but they live in
 a very different manner ; for whereas those
 I mentioned before enjoy Wealth and Au-
 thority in abundance, these seldom arrive
 at any Share of either, but are treated
 with Contempt as *Felacs* or Natives, only
 they are allowed to enter into the Service,
 where they remain private Men to their
 Lives End. So unfortunate a Thing it is
 to be born in that Country, wherein not-
 withstanding, the *Turks* desire most of all
 to live.

As to the Manners of this Nation, they
 are far from being so amiable as some
 Christian Writers would represent them.
 Haughtiness

Haughtiness and Vanity are inseparable from their Nature ; proud of their Dominion, they look down with Contempt on their unhappy Subjects ; insolent when they act from the Dictates of their Hearts, superciliously courteous when they have it in view to deceive or work upon a Stranger ; ostentatiously fond of their Religion ; exact in their Obedience to such Precepts as regard exterior Things, but seldom very cautious in respect to Actions which concern their Neighbours, either in their Persons or their Properties ; profuse in Promises of Friendship, but sparing in the Performance of them ; abandoned to Sensuality, and wholly devoted to Self-Interest. It is true, that some, by the help of Learning and Conversation, get the better of their evil Inclinations, and thereby maintain as well as acquire the Character of honest Men. But the Character of the Nation is taken from the many, not from the few ; and therefore it is sufficient to acknowledge that in this as well as in other general Descriptions, we must sometimes allow of Exceptions.

As to the *Franks* or *European* Christians in *Egypt*, they are for the most part *English*, *French*, or *Italians*. Such as reside constantly, are under the Protection of

of their respective Consuls ; and such as come merely to satisfy their Curiosity, are not only recommended to the Consuls, but generally also to some particular Merchant, that they may be the more at their Ease, and have the greater leisure to pursue the Inquiries they come to make. As to the Trade of *Egypt*, the manner in which it is at present carried on, the Improvements of which it is capable, and especially the very great one of purchasing *East-India* Goods by Exchange for our own Commodities, whereas we send Silver to the *Indies* ; concerning all these things I have elsewhere spoken at large ; and therefore I shall only throw together some scattered Thoughts on the Conduct of *Europeans*, and which could not so properly come in, in another Place.

I have always observed that the Subjects of the State of *Venice*, and other *Italians*, manage their Affairs more to their own Profit, and much more to their Credit, than the other Merchants who live there, though the latter have in many Respects the Advantage of the former. Of this I conceive the chief Reason to be, that Sobriety so natural to the Natives of *Italy*, Vigilance, Penetration and Civility ; for all these Qualities they possess in a supreme

preme Degree. The becoming Gravity of their Behaviour suits so well the affected Solemnity of the *Turks*, that they look upon them as wiser than other Christians, and therefore advise with, and confide in them more than the rest. Their constant Attention to the Business upon which they come, keeps their Affairs in a clearer and more certain Course, than can be well imagined by those who have not seen them. The Pains they take to examine more curiously the Commodities in which they deal, and the Methods of Trade and Manufactures amongst the Natives, than is common with the Merchants of other Countries, gives them great Superiority of Judgment, which they never boast of, though they neglect no Occasion of using it. Their Address is so courtly, and at the same time hath such an Appearance of Candour, they are so nice in all Things which respect good Manners, and so punctual in all Offices of Friendship, that the politest and most sensible of the *French* and *English* converse more with them than with their own Countrymen. To say the Truth, we have borrowed from the *Italians* all that we know of Trade, as our Books of Account testify, and the Terms made use of by the Merchants of *England*,
Germany,

Germany, and *Holland*. It would be well if we could borrow also when we go abroad their Manners and their Virtues; I say nothing of their Vices, because those we are apt enough to steal, and by affecting their Foibles and ill Qualities, prejudice our Countrymen against their good ones.

THE Protestants take little Pains to propagate their Religion in *Mohammedan* Countries; and as to the Popish Missionaries, whatever they may pretend, all their Efforts produce but little Fruits; for which I pretend not to assign the Reasons, only I think it would contribute to their Success, if their Priests did not meddle with temporal Concerns, or endeavour, as they frequently do, to promote other Interests than those of Religion: If they applied themselves more to the Learned, than they commonly do, because all who are acquainted with the Oriental Countries know that there are Philosophers there, as well as in other Parts of the World; and that many of these, far being prejudiced against the Christian Religion, are strongly inclined in its Favour, not from any exterior Impressions, but through the Effects of their own Reading and Observation: If they insisted more on the fundamental Points of the Christian Religion,

such

such as the Nature of CHRIST's Mission, the perfect and eternal Rectitude of the Maxims of the Christian Faith, the clear Proofs that still remain of these Points being revealed by God, the superior Purity of the Gospel-Morality to that of the *Jewish* and *Mohammedan* System, the perfect Conformity between the Doctrines of CHRIST and the Dictates of right Reason; and above all, the Peace, Comfort, and Tranquility resulting from a Life led according to these Rules. If the less important Matters, and especially such as the Difference of one Christian Church from another, were never mentioned, it would not be the worse. And as to Popish Doctrines, they ought in common Prudence not to be taken notice of even by Papists, since they serve only to rivet these *Mohammedans* in their old Notions; for they will not be brought to apprehend why they should worship the Saints of other Countries, rather than their own: They think their own Fables about a middle State, as worthy of Belief as the Tales they hear about Purgatory: And as to the Authority of the *Pope*, they are frightened at the very Apprehension of it, believing his Claims to be much the same with those of their ancient *Caliphs*, on a Title far less clear. But of these

VOL. II. I Matters

Matters enough ; let me now return to the History of the *Mohammedan* Natives of this Country, their Religion, Government, and Learning, which when I have explained, I shall take my Leave of them, as having many other Subjects to consider.

It is not to be supposed that barely travelling through Countries inhabited by *Mohammedans*, should render a Man perfectly skilled in the Theory and Practice of their Religion ; because we see plainly that travelling through *France* and *Italy*, doth not necessarily produce any competent Knowledge of the Sects, Religious Orders, or different Opinions in Religion embraced by the Inhabitants of those Countries : I say we see that bare Traveling produces nothing like this ; but when joined with Reading, Observation, and Enquiry, it may. On this Ground I presume to speak of the Religion of *Mohammed*, having not only talked of it with those who professed it, but having also read the Book of its Author, and considered the Drift of his Design as impartially as I believe ever any Christian did ; and on this Account it is very probable that what I shall say on this Subject, will not be altogether so reconcileable to what has been said about it already, as might be expected ;

ed ; but if it be not irreconcilable with Truth, differing from other Men will not give me much Concern.

WE are told by *Scharistani*, a very eminent *Arabian* Writer, that the Angel *Gabriel* appeared once to *Mohammed* in the Form of an *Arabian*, and besought him to declare in few Words what the Precepts were of that Religion which he pretended to deliver to the World; to which *Mohammed* answered thus, " It consists in confessing " that there is but one God, and in owning " me for his Messenger; in fulfilling punctually the Precepts relating to Prayer, " in giving Alms, in fasting during the " Month of *Ramedan*, and, if it may be " conveniently done, going in Pilgrimage " to *Mecca*." It must be acknowledged, that this is a very succinct, and at the same time a very exact Account of the Religion of *Mohammed*. The Belief of the first Proposition, and paying an exact Obedience to the other four Precepts is all that is required to constitute a good *Mussulman*; but of these more particularly.

THE sole Article of Faith required by this Religion is *believing in one God only, and that Mohammed is his Messenger*. At first Sight there seems to be two Propositions contained in this Sentence, *viz.*

*that there is one God, and that Moham-
med is his Prophet.* The Learned among
the *Arabs*, however, will not suffer this
Distinction, and therefore we must hear
how they explain it. God, say they, at
all times hath preserved to himself a cer-
tain Number of true and faithful Ser-
vants, who have worshiped him as he
ought to be worshiped, whilst the rest
of Mankind walked in Darkness, and a-
dored the Chimeras of their own distracted
Imaginations. The Method by which
God preserved his Beloved in the true
Faith, was by sending them from Time to
Time, Prophets to reveal to them his
Will, and to expose such Errors as might
by degrees creep in amongst them. At
last, say they, he sent *Isa*, or JESUS, whom,
as I have elsewhere shewn, the *Moham-
medans* acknowledge to have been above
all Prophets, who taught Men their Duty
on Earth, and on what Terms they might
hope to enter the Kingdom of Heaven ;
but in Process of Time the Christians suf-
fering themselves to be misled by their
Doctors, and giving generally into the
Belief of the Trinity, (of which by the
way the *Mohammedans* have very absurd
Ideas) *Mohammed* was sent to revive the
true Faith, by teaching, that there is but

one God, unalterable, and indivisible in Essence, unbegotten, and unbegetting. Therefore, say they, believing *in one God*, and that *Mohammed* is his Messenger, is one and the same Proposition, because the *Unity of the Godhead* was the Message given to *Mohammed*, or in other Words, the Cause of his Mission.

HEREIN lies the great Strength of this Religion, and, without Question, nothing hath so much assisted its Propagation as the great Merit which its Propagators always take to themselves, of being the sole Assertors of the *Unity of the Godhead*; whereas the Christians, according to them, give him for *Partners in Power*, I use their own Expression, the *Son* and the *Virgin Mary*, for this is their general Notion of the *Trinity*. It must be owned, that they have made a very good Use of their obstinate Ignorance as to the Principles of other People's Religion. They alledge, that the *Magians* worship the Fire, and that the *Zabians* adore the Stars; though neither of these Nations do so, nor ever did, in the Sense the *Mohammedans* understand this Position. But as these are Foils which make their own Faith shine the brighter, they will not suffer them to be taken away, but treat *Jews, Christians,*
I 3 and

and *Persees*, with the common Title of *Infidel*, though they all worship *one* God, as well as the Disciples of *Mohammed*.

THE Notions we have in *Europe*, that this Man was of mean Origin, void of Literature, and of gross Understanding, are utterly void of Foundation. The *Arabs*, as I have elsewhere said, are divided into Tribes; some more, some less noble, according to their Antiquity. Now *Mohammed* sprung from the *Coraisbites*, the most noble of them all. That his Circumstances were mean is true; but those who are acquainted with the *Arabian* History know, that this was not Matter of Reproach in the Times in which he lived; on the contrary, the supporting of Poverty was with them a Mark of Magnanimity; and the two first *Caliphs* lived as poorly in all Respects as *Mohammed* himself, though they commanded vast Armies, and were Lords of great Provinces. As to his Genius, it was indisputably vast and enterprising; and he was so far from being a rude and artless Person, that he was a Man of great Address, and one of the most powerful Speakers of his Time. It is true, that he calls himself a *simple*, or *idiot Prophet*, and that his Followers insist much upon this, but

to what Purpose? Why, that they may make his mighty Gifts the pure Effects of Inspiration. But if this serves their Purpose, and they therefore make it an Article of their Faith, how are we obliged to believe it too? Or why should we not rather say, that *Mohammed* having great natural and acquired Abilities, applied these to the framing of that System which he imposed upon his less intelligent Countrymen for a divine Revelation? Sure I am, that this is a more rational Account of the Matter than that which is usually given, nor can I be brought to believe; that the Structure or Success of his Scheme is so very astonishing as we generally conceive it.

For first, as to the Materials from which his System was composed, they were easily collected by a Person who had spent his junior Years as *Mohammed* had done, in travelling and conversing with all Sorts and Degrees of People. He had by this Means the best Opportunity in the World for enquiring, without the Cause of his Enquiry's being guessed at. Strangers are naturally inquisitive, and no-body suspects that a Stranger will turn Prophet; he might therefore prosecute with Ease whatever Discoveries he desired

to make among the *Arabians*, *Persians*, and *Greeks*, with all of whom it is known that he had an intimate Correspondence. But if he had not, he might have had all he knew from the *Arabians* only; since at the Time he set himself up for a Prophet, some of the Tribes of that Nation were of the *Jewish*, some of the Christian Religion, but Hereticks; some of the *Persian* or *Magian* Faith, and others *Gentiles*. Out of all these Systems he might and did collect the Substance of his own. Circumcision was a Rite universally used in *Arabia*; this therefore he retained. All the historical Part of the Old Testament, which came to his Knowledge, he digested into his own Book, and thereby declared it sacred in his Opinion: Of CHRIST he spoke respectfully, but in the Language of a *Photinian*: And as to the Ceremonies which he established, either by his Writing or Practice, they were conformable enough to those used by the *Persians* and *Gentiles*, especially those who worshipped at *Mecca*. So much for the Matter of his Religion.

Now as to the Manner in which he published, and by which he propagated it: It was so far from being without Example, that he had a very recent one, viz. that of
Mazdek,

Mazdek, the *Persian* Impostor, who either lived in, or but a very little before his Time. This Man, by brewing together *Magiism*, *Manicheism*, and *Libertinism*, produced an excellent new Religion, he Purity of which, amongst other Things, consisted in an absolute Community of Women, and an equal Distribution of Effects. This Prophet had not only the good Luck to find a Multitude of Followers, but also to mislead the King of *Persia*, and in a few Years made greater Strides than *Mohammed* did in all his Life. This Fellow too was but a Copyist after *Manes*, the famous Heretick; and therefore why *Mohammed*, who lived under the same King who put *Mazdek* to Death, should be held so potent in Invention, for playing his Tricks over again, I profess I cannot apprehend; nor do I see any thing incredible or unaccountable in what he performed, much less in what was performed by his Successors. For if he was a Hypocrite, they were but Enthusiasts; and that such Men at the Head of many Thousands like themselves should be too hard for other People, is no stranger than that Madmen should be too hard for Folks in their Senses, because the latter can never suspect to what Lengths the former will

go. Thus I am come back to the Point from whence I set out; for it is certain that the Secret of *Mohammed* lay in persuading his Followers, that they were the true and only Worshipers of the Almighty, and consequently all the rest of Mankind his Enemies as well as theirs; the fittest Doctrine imaginable for a Man who meant to argue as he did by the Sword, and to purchase *Dominion* in Right of *Grace*.

PREVIOUS to my Explication of the rest of the Precepts, I must speak of Washings, or Ablutions, which some call the first of the five Points which constitute a *Mussulman*; yet I think improperly, because they were not superinduced by *Mohammed*, but were practised by his Countrymen long before his Time. These Washings are of three Sorts. The first preparatory to their Prayers, which is called *Abdest*, which I have Reason to think is an old *Persic* Word, and that the Ceremonies they use on this Occasion were originally borrowed from the *Persees*. However, be that as it will, their Method of performing them is this; they first wash their Hands and Arms, then the Neck, the Forehead, the Crown of the Head, the Ears, the Teeth, the Face, under the Nose, and their Feet; but

but if either the Place or the Weather permit not this without great Inconveniency, then they content themselves with making a Semblance of doing so. The second Sort of Ablution is that performed after a Man hath conversed with a Woman ; and this is no more than Bathing, called *Gusur*. The third kind of Ablution is called *Tabaret*, and is performed before Eating and after Evacuation. In all these they are very strict, seldom if ever neglecting them where it is possible for them to be performed.

As to their stated Prayers, they are performed five times in twenty-four Hours. The first Time of Praying is between Day-break and Sun-rise ; the second at Noon ; the third at the middle Hour, between Noon and Sun-set ; the fourth at Sun-set ; and the fifth an Hour and a half in the Night. They use abundance of Gestures in their Devotions, and are so very fervent in them, that if a Fire should break out in the Room, they will not break off. They are not tyed to exact Forms of Prayer, though the Heads or Substance of their Prayers are settled, and the People in general use Forms. One Thing is remarkable, that in the Grand Seignior's Dominions they not only pray for his Health and Prosperity, but also
that

that God would be pleased to send a Spirit of Discord and Dissention among his Enemies, to which they attribute all the Dissentions and Wars amongst the Christians, which it must be allowed are agreeable to, though to be sure they are not effected by their Petitions. They are so precise in this Article of Prayer, that if by any Accident they are disturbed therein so far as to wander in their Thoughts, they begin again, supposing that the smallest Absence of Mind abrogates all the Petitions they have made. Hence sneezing, or rubbing the Hand or the Neck where a Flea has bit, or turning the Head on a sudden Noise, vacates the Prayers that have been said before, and the Person to whom such an Accident has happened is obliged to begin again. They are no less exact as to the Time of praying, for wherever they are, in the Street, in the Market, or on the Road, they stop to offer their Devotions, and omit none of the Ceremonies usual in Praying on Account of their being in a publick Place.

THE third Point is *Alms*, which they call *Zacab*, a Word derived from a Verb, signifying to purify, because according to their Notion, a Man's Substance is purified by giving Alms out of it to the Poor.

There

There is nothing of which we have so indefinite a Notion as of the Measure or Proportion by which, according to their Law, the *Mohammedans* are obliged to give Alms. Some of our Writers speak of a tenth, others say a hundredth Part. The Truth is, that they are commanded to give different Proportions of different Sorts of Goods, and are over and above charged to regard no Bounds in their Liberalities to the Poor. Hence it comes to pass, that many give the third of what they are worth ; many a fourth ; some have given half of what they were worth, once in their Life-time ; and there have been Instances of Men who have given all their Fortunes to the Poor, and lived ever after upon Alms themselves. To say the Truth, there are no People in the World among whom Poverty is so honourable as among the *Mohammedans*, who have a common Saying, *That the Fear of Want is a Mark of the Judgment of God*. They likewise say of a Person who makes a voluntary Profession of Poverty, that as he possesses nothing, he is possessed by nothing ; by which they mean to suggest, that in the midst of his Poverty he is Master of the World, by reason of that Detachment from carnal Desires which he enjoys by Virtue of his Profession, which Desires, in their Opinion, make all other Men Slaves.

THE

THE fourth Point is the keeping the Fast of *Rammedan*. This is no more than the Name of the *ninth Month* of the *Arab Year*. Anciently this always fell in Summer, but now, since the *Arab Year* is become perfectly lunar, it shifts and varies, and falls out in all Seasons. The Rule in Fasting is this: A Believer must not eat, drink, or converse with his Wife, from the Time that the Sun rises, till such Time as the Stars appear, or the Lamps are hung out upon the Mosques, which is done during this Month, that the People may the better know when to take their Repasts. Of such indispensable Obligation is this Command held, that if a Man should openly break it, he would be punished with Death; neither are Travellers, sick or wounded Persons, exempt therefrom; but in case their Necessities oblige them to eat within that Month, then they are obliged to fast another entire Month in the Year to atone for it. Yet as there are among the *Mohammedans*, as well as amongst Christians, very many who desire to avoid such rigorous Restraints, they have found an easy Method of doing it without violating the Letter, and thereby exposing themselves to the secular Arm. They eat and drink plentifully in the Night, and divert themselves therein every other

other Way, going to bed as the Morning draws on, and sleeping the greatest Part of the Day. This is a *Turkish* Invention, and exceedingly abhorr'd by the sober Part of those who profess the *Religion* of *Mohammed*.

THE fifth Point requisite to constitute a true Believer, according to the Doctrine of their Prophet, is the *Pilgrimage* to *Mecca*, which every Man who is free, and hath sufficient Ability, that is in respect to Riches, is commanded to undertake once in his Life. It is easy enough to account for this Injunction, which certainly had no other than these two Motives. First, the Love which *Mohammed* bore to the Place of his Birth. And Secondly, the Desire he had to gratify his Countrymen the *Arabians* in their extraordinary Fondness for the *Square Temple* at *Mecca*. This holy Place, which the *Arabs* call *Cabab*, was certainly a very ancient Structure, and had served for the chief Place of Worship for all the several Religions, or rather Superstitions, which in a long Succession of Ages had been embraced by this Nation; in the Inside thereof there was a *black Stone*, and *two* Golden Images, which were presented, as some Writers say, by a King of *Persia*, and as others say, by an *Arab* Prince. These were both Objects of high Veneration,

tion, tho' I dare not say of idolatrous Worship, because it is with me a great Doubt, whether ever these *Eastern* People were, in the proper Sense of the Word, Idolaters; for if they worship'd the heavenly Bodies, or any Telesmetick Images, as Representations of the supreme God of Heaven and Earth, then I am afraid we must exempt them from the Imputation of *Idolatry*, or extend that Term so as to take in some who look upon themselves to be the only good Christians.

THE *Mohammedan*stell us a very notable Story concerning the Building, Consecration, and Holiness of this same Temple. In the first Place, they are positive that *Hagar* was not the Concubine, but the Wife of *Abraham*, and dearly beloved by him: They acknowledge, however, her Flight into the *Desert*, with her Son *Ishmael*; and they affirm, that it was in the Neighbourhood of *Mecca* they fixed themselves after their Flight. Here *Abraham* came to visit his Son; and that he might have an Oratory wherein to offer his Prayers to God, he counsell'd him to build this Square Temple, and assisted him in the Work. It was, as it still is, a very rude and contemptible Structure, standing due East and West. And though it is called a Square, yet its Length is four and
twenty

twenty Ells, and its Breadth from North to South but twenty-three. In this Temple *Abraham* placed the mysterious black Stone, whereon it is said he found *Hagar* sitting when he first embraced her; and having established his eldest Son *Ismael* in the firm Possession of *Arabia*, fixed this Place for the Worship of the true God; whence, say they, it came to be revered by the Dependents of *Ismael*, and to be held the most noble and valuable Part of their Possessions.

In Process of Time, however, they were deprived of it, and it passed into the Hands of another Tribe. The *Ismaelites* kept up their Claim, and at last by Force re-acquired the Protection of this holy Place. The Enemy, however, carried off the black Stone and Golden Images, and threw them into the Pit *Zemzem*, where they remained for a long Series of Ages, but at last were discovered by the Grandfather of *Mohammed*, who had for that Purpose an express Revelation from Heaven, as he very positively affirmed; so that *Mohammed* was not the first of his Family who took upon him the Character of a Prophet. The Religion of the *Arabs*, when *Mohammed* attempted to set up himself for a Person divinely inspired,

inspired, was Deism corrupted, that is mingled with heathenish and Pagan Rites, of which, however, the *Cabab* was the Center. Thither the People resorted to worship, and there they did worship with great Formality, and with Abundance of ostentatious Ceremonies, most of which *Mohammed* preserved, and brought into his Religion, obliging the People who professed it not only to this Pilgrimage, but also to turn their Faces towards it, that is, towards the Point of the Compass regarding it, as often as they pray'd, in what Part of the World soever they were. This Honour was by no Means of *Mohammed's* Invention, but taken from the Practice of the *Jews* and *Persians*, who were wont to turn their Faces when they worshiped, the one to the *East* and the other to the *West*, which Ceremony is in *Arabick* stiled *Al. Keblab*, and is one of the main points of Distinction in the Religions of the *East*. Thus much for the Reasons inducing *Mohammed* to stamp such extraordinary Marks of Respect on the City and Temple of *Mecca*.

LET us now return to the Pilgrimage, which, as an essential Point of their Religion, is punctually comply'd with by the *Mohammedans* of *Asia* and *Africk*. Such

as come from the middle Provinces of the Grand Seignior's Dominions, assemble at *Damascus*, the *Persian* Pilgrims at *Babylon*; those from *Africk*, at *Cairo*. They draw, however, all in one Body, on a certain Mountain near that City, to which they go in solemn Procession, leaving behind them their Christian Slaves, lest they should pollute this *Holy Place*.

It may not be amiss to observe, that in this, as well as in other Things, the wiser *Mohammedans* have Notions far enough removed from those of the People; for Instance, though they look upon the Pilgrimage to *Mecca* as a Point of indispensable Necessity, yet they stick not to spiritualize it, and to affirm, their Prophet instituted it, to put them in mind, that Life itself is but a Pilgrimage, wherein we ought always to have our immortal State in View, which they conceive to be figured by the Holy Temple at *Mecca*; and therefore they do not place the Efficacy of this Pilgrimage in barely travelling so far, in kissing as they are wont to do the black Stone, or in performing the other Ceremonies annexed to that Act of Devotion, but in performing all this with a right Mind, that is, with a penitent Heart, and a just Sense of the Contemptibleness

bleness of carnal Things, compared with those spiritual and eternal. Thus I finish my Commentary on the five Points of the Law of *Mohammed*, which I hope sufficiently demonstrates that they are not either so crude and so absurd as some Men would make them, or so politick, so refined, so perfectly of the Prophet's Invention as they are made to be by others, but of a mixt Nature, and such as a wise Man will behold without Contempt or Admiration.

I HAVE heard it often alledged, both in *England* and in *Italy*, that the *Mohammedans* were more united in their Sentiments, and more constant in the Profession of their Faith than Christians ; but this I am very confident is said without the least Foundation. I cannot indeed affirm, that the Controversies among them are more in Number than amongst us ; but I can truly say, that I believe it impossible to compute the Number of Controversies amongst either. In all Revealed Religion there are many things hard to be understood ; and indeed there must be so, for if they were self-evident, they could not be the Subject of Divine Revelation ; and these Points are alike Grounds of Debate amongst *Mohammedans* as well as *Christians*.

For

For example, the Questions relating to *Predestination* and *free Grace* have been agitated among the *Arab* Doctors with as much Heat and Vehemence as ever they were in *Christendom*. If we have *Pietists*, or Professors of mystical Divinity, so have they ; nor have there been wanting *Mohammedan Quakers*, who supposing themselves above all Ordinances, have acted according to the Dictates of what they call the Spirit, and have been looked upon by Men of Understanding as a sort of *grave Infidels*.

MANY of the best *Persian* and *Arabian* Poets have been suspected of *Christianism*, and many more of *Atheism* ; but the common Name for impious Persons is *Zendik*, which, as I take it, strictly belongs to those who assert the Eternity of the World, and are properly speaking *Materialists* or *Naturalists*. Such as exclude all Ideas of spiritual Substance, and conceive that all Beings whatsoever have an innate Power of producing what we see them produce, without deriving it from any other. Tho' there are many who are secretly in these Sentiments, yet there are a very few only who either privately or publickly acknowledge any thing like them. The Reason is, because the Government

vernment would speedily take Notice of it ; for the *Turks* judge rightly, that such Men as are loose in Principles of Religion, are not fast Friends or good Subjects to any Government whatever. Among the *Arabs* a sort of enthusiastic Piety prevails, and those who are perfectly acquainted with their Language, are extremely edified with this Spirit and Fervour of their Devotions. But the most rational Books of Devotion have been written by *Persians*, who have a more calm and courtly Stile, and less of that ecstatic Rapture which is so productive of Obscurity. On the whole, tho' the Religion of *Mohammed* rather declines than increases, yet it still possesses the best Part of the habitable World, under the four great Empires of the *Grand Seignior*, the *Shah* of *Persia*, the *Great Mogul*, and the Emperor of *Morocco*, besides the numberless petty Princes in *Arabia*, the *East-Indies*, and the inland Parts of *Africa*. I have now fulfilled all that I proposed to myself to say on the Head of Religion, and shall turn next to the Government of *Egypt*, especially as it stands at this Day.

I HAD some Thoughts of writing a succinct History of the successive Changes in Government which have happened in *Egypt*, from the Time it was first peopled

to

to the Conquest thereof by *Selim* Emperor of the *Turks*; but having never had Time enough to compare and translate the Materials necessary for such a Work, I contented myself with throwing together some Observations on the different Masters of *Alexandria*, which I have elsewhere inserted in these Memoirs, and shall here confine myself to the present State of *Egypt*, under the *Turkish* Government. Previous however to this, I will set down something concerning the *Mamlukes*; because from what I have read in our *European* Historians, I have been induced to think, that we have very confused, if not false Notions concerning this People.

THE Word *Mamlouck*, for so it ought to be spelt, signifies a *Slave*, the Plural of this is *Memalik*, or *Slaves*, and this is the proper Appellation of the People of whom we are speaking. They were truly such, but not *Christian*, or born of Christian Parents, as we have been made to believe; on the contrary, the *Tartars* were at that Time so powerful as to ravage all *Asia*, and these poor Creatures were strong able bodied *Turks*, whom they seized and sold to *Al Malek Ajoub* Sultan of *Egypt*. He made use of them at first to guard the outer Courts of his Palace, and as their Numbers,

bers, and the Reputation of their Fidelity increased, he not only fixed them in *Cairo*, but also placed Garrisons of them in most of his Maritime Places. He dying left the Crown to his Son, who was so fortunate in War, as to take Prisoner in Battle St. *Lewis* King of *France*. Yet neither his Valour, nor the many Virtues he possessed, could preserve him from being murdered by these Slaves of his, not without the Participation of a Person who ought to have protected him. This Person was his Mother, whose Name was *Schagredar*, who was also a *Turk*, and commencing an Intrigue with *Ibek* the General of this Militia, for so they were now become, consented that he should dispatch her Son, and jointly with her assume the regal Dignity, which accordingly he did, in the Year of the *Hegira* 648; according to our Account, in the Year of our Lord 1250.

HE did not however long enjoy that Power which he had so basely usurped; the same ambitious Woman destroyed him too, but the Crown was preserved to his Posterity. This is the History of the first *Mamalukes*, who from their having the Custody of the Sea Ports, were stiled *Maritime*, or *Sea Mamalukes*. The Princes of

of this Race, to secure themselves more effectually against foreign Invaders, and domestick Treasons, instituted a new Militia, composed of young *Circassians*, bred up in the great Cities of *Egypt*, where they were taught all sorts of Exercises, and were intended to do the same Service to these *Sultans* as the *Grand Seignior* expects from his Janizaries. But. they copying the Behaviour of their Masters, suddenly rebelled against the Prince who had settled and disciplined them, and quickly deprived him of Life and Crown. These were the second Race of *Mamalukes*, and called themselves by way of Distinction *Inland Mamalukes*. These were they who were conquered by the *Turks* under the fortunate *Sultan Selim*, about the Year 1517, and were the last independent Princes in *Egypt*, that Country having been since that Time only a Province of the *Turkish* Empire.

THE supreme Governor of this great Kingdom is generally stiled the *Bassa* of *Cairo*, on account of his Residence in that City. He is always honoured with the Title of *Vizir*, and, next that of the *Vizir Azem*, it is the first Employment in the Gift of the *Grand Seignior*. It is seldom obtained but by Bribery, a Thing so customary

tomary at the *Porte*, that it is no way scandalous. Before a Man sets out for this Government, it costs him fifty, sixty, or seventy thousand Pounds. When he arrives in *Egypt*, he finds himself invested with all the Ensigns of Authority and absolute Power which the proudest Mind can wish ; but it depends entirely on his own Prudence, whether he shall enjoy any more than the outward Appearance of all this Authority, as will be hereafter seen. The *Grand Seignior's* Tribute consists annually of 600,000 *Sequins* in ready Gold, which is sent at the Expence of the *Bassa*, who likewise furnishes to the *Seraglio* Coffee, Sugar, Sherbets, and *Indian* Commodities nearly to the same Value. Besides this the *Bassa* furnishes all the Expences the *Grand Seignior* is at in sending the two Caravans of *Cairo* and *Damascus* to *Mecca*; and he is likewise charged with the Civil and Military Appointments of all who are in the Service of the *Grand Seignior* within the Bounds of his Government. To defray all this, and to enable him to maintain Spies and Protectors in the *Serail*, he is allowed to take and receive without Account all the Revenues belonging to the *Grand Seignior*, which amount to an immense Sum. He is never appointed

pointed for any longer than a Year, yet is seldom removed from his Government in less than three, and some have remained three longer ; but every Year's Continuance costs a hundred thousand Crowns in Presents, without which there is nothing to be done.

His Residence is in the Castle of *Cairo*, where he holds his *Divan* with greater Pomp and Splendor than the *Grand Seignior* himself at *Constantinople*. He hath about his Person and in his Councils all the great Officers usually attendant on a Court, such as a *Kiajab*, or great Steward, *Reis Effendi*, or Chancellor, *Testadar*, or Treasurer, &c. Under him he has twenty-four *Beys* or *Sanjacks*, who govern so many Provinces, tho' their Number is seldom compleat ; and to these People he sells their Governments, which is one Method of acquiring Money, and no inconsiderable one ; besides which they pay an annual Tribute, and keep up a Body of Militia at their own Expence. These *Beys* command only the open Country, for almost every great Village is an independent Government possessed by a *Chek* or *Cheik*. So much for the Civil Administration. As to the Military Force, it consists in different Bodies of Troops, all

independent of each other, and which is still more singular, independent of the *Bassa*. The *Azaphs*, or *Asaphs*, are a Body of Infantry consisting of above five thousand effective Men, under the Command of Officers chosen from among themselves. They are looked upon as much inferior to the *Janizaries*, and on that account there is an inexpressible Enmity between them. The *Spabis* are Corps of Cavalry, consisting of three Regiments, distinguished by the Titles of the Green, the Yellow, and the Red, each Regiment consisting of a thousand effective Men. They are commanded by a *Kiajab*, and as they are independent of the other Corps, so they mortally hate the *Asaphs*, and the *Janizaries*. The *Bachouchs* are also certain Corps of Infantry, destined to various Services, consisting of three Regiments, each of five hundred Men. Lastly, the *Janizaries*, consisting of seven thousand effective Men, and about as many more nominal only; they are commanded in Chief by a *Kiajab*, whom they chuse when they think fit, and also depose when they think fit; he is absolutely independent of the *Bassa*, and in some measure of the *Grand Seignior*, for without the Consent of the Council of Officers, neither he

he nor any private *Janizary* can be put to Death, notwithstanding the Sultan's express Order.

It is not easy to frame an Idea of the mighty Power of this Militia, but one may have some Notion of it from hence, that the whole Business of the *Bassa* of *Cairo* is to contrive Ways and Means to ballance the Authority of the *Janizaries* by that of the *Spahis*, and the rest of the Troops, which he is sometimes unable to do, and so is deposed and imprisoned. The *Janizaries* are no less Tyrants in respect to the People; so that purely to escape their Vexations, many rich Merchants inroll themselves in their Order, for which they pay considerably at their Admittance, and are subject to Contributions all their Life-time after, on one Pretence or other; besides, at their Demise all they have goes to the Order, which is the Heir-general of all its Members; a thing monstrous, and almost inconceivable. When any Person who has the Reputation of being rich, and who was not a *Janizary*, dies, the Order have as fair a Title to his Effects; for they have a false Muster-Roll, into which they put the Names of such as they would be glad to have of their Order; and a little hard swearing,

and a Present to the Bassa, makes this as authentick as a Decree from the Musti. If the Beys are at any time upon bad Terms with the Bassa, they do not indeed inroll themselves Janizaries, but they put themselves under the Protection of the Order, which is the same thing, for they are effectually covered let their Crimes have been what they will. The Asaphs and Spahis have likewise found the Sweets of this Method, so that where a Man has the Will and the Power of bribing, Justice must keep at a Distance from him, and the Bassa with all his Parade of Sovereign Authority must be content to wink at him, tho' he should be as notorious a Criminal as himself. This Expression must seem very general, and to imply very little less, than that all the *Turkish* Governors are Men given to Fraud and Rapine; and truly I believe that most People who have resided in that Country, will be ready to confess this Character, general and unguarded as it is, not very far wide of Truth; however, I am content to restrain it as much as I may, by confessing that there really are Bassas of a different Character, Men of Honour and Generosity, Lovers of Justice, and inclined to make the People happy; but
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then this does not at all contradict what I have said, since their Governments are not a Grain more advantageous to themselves, or beneficial to the People, but on the contrary produce new Inconveniencies to both.

PROBITY is not only rarely seen amongst the Great at *Cairo*, but it is also absolutely inconsistent with their Authority, nor can there possibly be a virtuous Administration in *Egypt*; Oppression and Tyranny runs thro' the whole System of Rule, and all Attempts to introduce Humanity, and other opposite Virtues, are considered at so many Violations of the Constitution. The Beys and the Cheiks live magnificently, and amass Fortunes by plundering the Country People; the Janizaries, Spahis, and Azaphs live at their Ease, by pillaging those in Town. The Bassa hath vast Demands to satisfy, and in order to have wherewith to satisfy them, it is most evident that he must plunder too; a Disposition to do this puts him upon a Par with his Neighbours, and as many of them may want his Assistance, they are glad to afford him theirs. Hereby a Method is opened to him of acquiring that Authority which he ought to receive from his Commission; his Skill in ballancing Parties,

ties, and preserving the casting Vote to himself, may enable him to answer all the Charges of his Government, and even to gain a Fortune for himself; but an Appearance of Honour and Virtue, the being known to have a Disposition of doing Justice, immediately unites the most inveterate Enemies, and engages them to turn all the Bitterness which they exercise towards each other upon him, as upon the common-Foe.

THIS is the true Sense of that divine Adage of our Saviour's, *The Children of this World are wiser than the Children of Light*. For tho' it be true, that all just and good Men are allied to each other, that an Injury done to one is an Injury done to them all, because it is an Injury done to that System of Rule which they support; yet they do not really perceive this, or when they do, they are not wont to unite with Vigour, in order to redress the Grievance sustained; and so Vice and Folly gain upon them by degrees, till at last Resistance is vain, and Redress becomes impossible. It is not so with wicked and unjust Men, their Interest here is their sole Concern, and they are wise enough to know, that what prejudices one Man's worldly Interest, will also prejudice another's.

another's. Self-Interest therefore teaches them Union, and they act in a bad Cause with a Prudence and Spirit, which would do them the highest Honour if they were engaged in a good one.

BUT it may be enquired why the *Grand Seignior* winks at these Disorders ; Disorders so dishonourable to his Sovereign Authority, and so apparently prejudicial to his Finances. The Reason of this too is easily understood, for he acts upon the same Principles with his Janizaries and *Bassas*, and is so far from looking upon this State of Things as destructive to his Interest, that he considers it as the sole Support thereof. A few Words will suffice to explain this Mystery. The *Bassa* rules *Egypt* by ballancing Parties, which would be infinitely too strong for him if they were united ; the *Grand Seignior* preserves *Egypt*, by allowing the Power of the People to ballance the Authority of the *Bassa*. Union and Tranquility amongst his Subjects is the only Thing he fears ; for in such a Case he apprehends that one of these two Evils would certainly follow, that his *Bassa* would become a Sovereign Prince, by throwing aside his Allegiance, or the People would expel him, and secure their own Freedom, by chusing a Prince

from among themselves. Diffension, Bloodshed, and Oppression, are therefore suffered, or rather maintained by the *Sultan*, that he may secure his Revenue, and the Dependence of *Egypt*; they are permitted and promoted by the *Bassas*, because they are subservient to their Authority; they are exercised by the several Corps of Militia, because they are this Way supported without Labour.

THUS do Men out-do Wolves, for they not only prey, but prey on each other, and that without Necessity. Here is the Thing that affrights weak Minds, when by Chance they discover these Things, or learn them as Discoveries from others; they immediately cast the Blame upon Providence, and are on the point of turning Infidels, because they have not Sense enough to discern the Divine Wisdom. A Man would be laughed at, who pretended to quarrel with his Maker for not having created an Ox, an Ass, or a Horse, a Hog. And yet this Objection is the same Thing, for it is quarrelling with God, because he has created Men, Men, and not Brutes; because he has given them Reason as well as Senses, and a Power of attaining intellectual Happiness, which they could not have had if their Nature had

had been otherwise constituted than it is. We do not suppose a Farm-House equal to a Palace, tho' we stand in the Yard of one, and see the other at three or four Miles distance; but a vicious Man prefers the Hogsty of this World to the Paradise promised hereafter, meerly because it is nearer; and therefore is as much a Fool in this Case, as he would be if he acted in the same manner in that. But shall we blame God for this, and not ourselves? Shall we believe it just for us to merit, and unjust for him to punish? What Equity is there in this? Or what Difference is there between our talking at this Rate, and our affirming that the Author of our Reason has less Reason than we have ourselves.

BUT it is now Time to come to the Learning of this People, of which I promised to speak, and of which here is much to be said, and of which I flatter myself I can say somewhat not altogether beside the Purpose. The Learning of *Egypt* ought, in my Opinion, to be divided into the Learning of the Ancient *Egyptians* before they were conquered by the *Assyrians* and *Persians*, and the Learning of the Modern *Egyptians*, which I confess might with greater Propriety be called the Learning of the *Ara-*
bians.

bians. However, as both are distinct enough from the Learning of *Europe*, it may not be altogether amiss to give a general Account of both, the rather because many who have spoken on these Points have done it without any tolerable Comprehension of what they intended to explain, and in Terms so immethodical and obscure, as served rather to confound than enlighten their Readers. After having spoke so freely of others, I cannot expect to escape Censure myself, but if I deserve it, it shall not be in the same Way with my Predecessors; I will at least have the Merit of attempting to treat this Affair in a rational Way, and not endeavour to pass a Declamation on the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*, upon the less knowing Perusers, for an Account of the *Egyptian* Learning; much less will I attempt to impose my own Conjectures for the revived Fragments of that Science, the Veneration due to which hath been too often diverted to such false Relicks. I think it may be laid down as a self-evident Maxim, *That Knowledge was there first perfected where Men were first settled*. For it is natural for the human Race to seek first Safety, then Necessaries, next Conveniencies, and by Degrees Instruments of Luxury. Now
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as none of these can be had without Invention, Reasoning, and Industry, it follows that Knowledge and Learning must increase gradually, and must have come to Perfection first, in the first Plantation of Mankind. All Histories, Sacred and Profane, agree, that *Egypt* was very early planted; and therefore it is reasonable to believe, that Learning was very early established in *Egypt*. We ought therefore to give Credit to those Accounts we meet with in the most early Writers of the Knowledge of the *Egyptians*; for tho' I do not think that those Writers are always to be depended upon, in what they tell us of the Learning of the *Egyptians*; for tho' this People might be very knowing, yet their Neighbours might have but confused and imperfect Ideas of their Knowledge. This I take to be very reasonable, and am thoroughly persuaded, that it is Matter of Fact. After this previous Admonition, I will proceed to speak, First of the Fame of the *Egyptian* Learning, and Secondly of its Extent. We are told by *Moses*, that when *Abraham* went down into *Egypt*, he found that Kingdom perfectly well settled, and was received there with much Civility and Politeness. It does not however appear, at least to me, that

that there was any material Difference between the Religion of *Abraham*, and the Religion then professed in *Egypt*. I say material Difference; for I do not think that the Religion of *Abraham* and his Household, was exactly the same with that of *Egypt*; because if it had, there would have been no Occasion for the *Revelations* made to that *Patriarch*, but I suppose that the *Egyptians* still worshiped one God, tho' it might be with a Mixture of Superstition, which in a short Time degenerated into Idolatry. *Josephus* informs us, that the Father of his Nation found the *Egyptians* much inclined to Learning, but not excellent therein, and that he was extremely caressed for his superior Knowledge, and for the Discoveries he made known to them in various Sciences. All this is perfectly probable, for *Abraham* being by Birth a *Chaldean*, and *Chaldea*, according to *Moses*, being the first peopled Country in the World, Learning must have become perfect there before it could be so in *Egypt*; and indeed there is great Authority to prove, as well as the highest Reason to believe, that the Progress of Learning was from *Chaldea* to *Egypt*, and from thence to the Western Parts of the World. When *Joseph* went down into this Country, of which

which we are speaking, he found Things much altered, as we may well conceive they might be in the Space of two hundred Years. The *Egyptian* Monarch kept then a regular and magnificent Court, the Religion of the *Egyptians* was then quite new moulded, and the Learning of *Egypt* was held in very high Esteem. We see too what sort of Learning that was, what were the principal Causes, Inclinations, and Arts of Policy among the Great in that Kingdom. It is from this History, I mean the History of *Joseph* as written by *Moses*, that we have the best and plainest Account of the ancient State of *Egypt*; and therefore whoever would prosecute the Story of this Nation at large, ought to study this Part of the *Mosaic* Writings carefully, and to prefer what he discovers therefrom to all that can be learned from *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, or the Fragments of *Manetho*; because setting aside his Inspiration, *Moses*, according to the strictest Laws of Criticism, is by far a more authentic Writer than any of these, as being much nearer the Times of which he wrote, and having much better Opportunities of knowing the *Egyptian* Affairs than any of those Writers could possibly have. It is recorded of this great Man,

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I mean *Moses*, that he was versed in all the Learning of *Egypt*, and this was no doubt intended to fill up his Character, as a wise and knowing Man, before he received the Sanction of a prophetic Mission, and had his Mind illuminated by Divine Inspiration. All that he says of himself is so humble, and all that is said of him by the rest of the sacred Writers, is so general, as well as concise, that it is not easy to speak with any Degree of Certainty of the Sciences wherein he was instructed while he lived in *Egypt*: However, as he was educated in the Royal Family, there can be no Ground to question his having a thorough and perfect Idea, as well of the hidden as of the open Literature of *Egypt*, which was a Distinction begun so very early, that there is Reason to believe it had commenced before his Time. If we were to take in, under the Notion of assured Commentaries on the sacred Text, what hath been written on the Life of *Moses* by *Josephus* and *Philo*, then we should be able to speak very explicitly; but they write so apparently in the *Greek* Stile, that is, in the Stile of Conjecture, that for my own Part, tho' I have a high Opinion of both their Judgments, yet I cannot bring myself to rely upon the Authority

Authority of either. But tho' *Moses* hath not left us any Account of the Learning of *Egypt*, we may find in his Writings a great Variety of Facts which have a Reference thereto, and from which we may conclude, that it was both solid and extensive, as I shall have Occasion to shew in the Prosecution of this Discourse.

IN the Time of *Solomon*, *Egypt* was in the very Zenith of her Glory, and this it was that induced that wise and magnificent Prince to desire to ally himself to its Monarch, by whose Assistance he reduced one of the Maritime Cities of the *Philistines*, or rather had it given him by the King of *Egypt*, when he had taken and burnt it with Fire, which shews that the *Egyptians* were then very perfect in the Art of War. In the Reign of *Reboboam*, *Shishak* made a perfect Conquest of his Kingdom, that is, as perfect a Conquest as he made of any Kingdom, for he pretended to no more than honorary Tribute, and an Acknowledgment of his being *Lord Paramount*, as we speak. This *Shishak* was the *Sesostris* of the *Greeks*, and the only great Conqueror who reigned in *Egypt*, if we except *Osiris*, and the rest of the fabulous Heroes. The sacred Historians of succeeding Reigns speak very frequently of the *Egyptians*,
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their Knowledge, Industry, and Prowess; and it must be confessed even by such as would dispute their divine Authority, that the Accounts we have from these Writers are the most consistent, the most rational, and the most useful that are any where to be met with.

As to the Fame of the *Egyptian* Learning among the *Greeks*, it is impossible to conceive any thing greater or more illustrious than it was. The Founders of the States and of the Religion of *Greece* were all either *Egyptians*, or Persons who boasted of their being versed in the Learning of the *Egyptians*. Their greatest Poets celebrated that Kingdom as the Region of Science: The wisest of their Legislators acknowledged themselves indebted for their Abilities in that sublime Art, to the Instructions they had received, and the Observations they had made, in the Country we are speaking of. Their best Historians affected nothing so much as the recording the Exploits of this People, and endeavouring to set their Histories in a clear Light, as the *Greek* Philosophers never pretend to disown their being indebted to the *Egyptians*, for the Rudiments at least of all that Knowledge which they taught their Disciples. I might have
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quoted in Support of what I have been saying, the Writings of *Homer*, *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, and above all *Aristotle* and *Plato*, with the rest of the Greek Writers of Eminence, who all agree in affirming, that the *Egyptians* were a most learned and knowing People. Here therefore I rest that Evidence which I think sufficient to prove, that the Fame of the *Egyptian* Wisdom was great and universal, and consequently such as deserves Credit. But as I before remarked, tho' the Reputation of the *Egyptian* Learning may well be understood by the Accounts given of it by the *Greeks*, yet can we gather but a very imperfect and indifferent Idea thereof from the Particulars they have been pleased to communicate.

SOME of them, such as the Poets, and miscellaneous Writers, mention it occasionally, or partially, as it suits with their Subjects. Others, as Historians and Antiquarians, insist upon it; but then they are so concise on such Heads of the *Egyptian* Science as they understood, and so diffuse on those Points which they confessed they did not understand, that one is frequently astonished, but very seldom enlightened by what they say. Hence it is that the fabulous History of *Egypt*, as
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the *Greeks* have given it to us, is the most unintelligible Jumble of Absurdities that ever appeared. We are indeed told in Excuse of this, that the *Egyptian* Priests did not only do their utmost to conceal the History and Antiquities of their Nation from Strangers, but even took a Pleasure in imposing on them, and in passing on them romantic Stories, and ridiculous unintelligible Allegories, for grand Secrets, and the hidden Mysteries of their sacred and civil Institutions. To believe therefore in the gross all that the *Greeks* have told us, is irrational, and must lead us into Error; and to reject the whole would be to own an absolute Ignorance, and a Despair of being better informed. The middle Road therefore is in this, as in most other Cases, the safest; and we ought to believe that the *Egyptians* were well versed in all the Sciences, and that what is excellent and worthy of a wise People, in the Accounts given of them by the *Greeks*, ought to be esteemed just and authentic; whereas all Things mean and trivial, that are found mixt in these Accounts, ought to be looked upon as spurious, and the Effects of the Authors Credulity or Boldness.

I AM now come to the second Head I proposed, that is, the real Extensiveness of the ancient *Egyptian* Learning; and in Support of this I shall offer Facts only, having already placed all Authorities on this Subject under the former Head. As to the Knowledge of the ancient *Egyptians* in Theology, I am persuaded it was very great. Nor can I bring myself to believe that any of the Fables which are attributed to the *Egyptians*, were believed by them, that is, strictly and literally. On the contrary, I am convinced that they were allegoric Systems of natural Mysteries, and that we have the true Keys of very few of them. As to that Division which I heretofore mentioned of *bidden* and *open* Divinity, I will not hide my Suspicion, that as the *open* Divinity consisted in downright Idolatry, so the *bidden*, which was in very few Hands, did not fall much short of the true Religion, that is to say, it consisted in knowing that the popular Religion was made up of Types and Shadows, and that the true Worship of God consisted in acknowledging his Unity, and in doing Good to his Creatures. Neither do I conceive that this *bidden* Divinity was peculiar to the *Egyptians*, but that it was known to the Legislators
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of most of the heathen Nations, and that the Discoveries they sometimes make of it to their favourite Disciples, gave rise to those Suspicions of Atheism, which we find so rudely fixed upon them by Writers who were zealous, or affected to be zealous, for the *Vulgar Faith*.

I SHOULD very willingly enter into the Detail of the Reasons which have not only led me to, but confirmed me in this Opinion, were this a proper place. But inasmuch as such an Account would take up a great deal of Room, and lead me into many Digressions, I will content myself for the present with observing, that if in the Sequel of this Discourse I shall prove, that in other Respects the ancient *Egyptians* were a well-governed, wise, polite and industrious People, then it ought to be inferr'd, that the best of them had rational and consistent Notions in Religion, and that even the People were not so stupid as to believe a Religion altogether without Art or Contrivance, which would have been certainly the Case, if the Religion of the *Egyptians* had been really such a one as many of the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers represented. To this I will add, that the Ridicule so freely play'd by these Writers upon the *Egyptian* Religion, is a strong Presumption

Presumption that they were not right in their Sentiments about it; for how can we believe that those, who were the Masters of the *Greeks* in all their Sciences, as they again were of the *Romans*, should fall so miserably short of them in this first and most important of all Sciences? But to pass from Religion to Government.

THIS seems to have been the Glory of the People of whom we are now speaking; and the Accounts we have of it are so far from being obscure, that they are sufficient to prove this Nation the wisest of any in the World in the Settlement of its Constitution, and the most happy in its Effects. As to the Form of Rule which prevailed in *Egypt*, it was that of *Monarchy*. The ancient Kings of *Egypt* were stiled *Pharaohs*, which was a Name of Dignity, and followed by the proper Name of the Prince, as *Pharaoh Hophra*, *Pharaoh Neco*. He was stiled absolute, and he might be absolute if he pleased. Yet there was a Table of Rules for the Conduct of the King, which descended to the minutest Points. Such as the Time of his Rising, his Meals, and the Hours of his Diversions, to which he usually submitted, not only in Conformity to his Predecessors, but because he knew that though he was above all

all Men during his Life, yet he should not fail to be judged after he was dead by his People. This was the sole Limitation, if it may be so called, under which an *Egyptian* Monarch lay. He was daily admonished by the Priests, but in a distant and respectful Way ; and as soon as he was dead, certain Officers, appointed by the People, commenced a Suit against his Reputation, wherein, with great Freedom, they examined all his Actions ; and if on a fair Trial the People condemned him, then his Corps was not interr'd with Funeral Solemnity, an Evil of all others most dreaded by the ancient *Egyptians*. This Custom the *Israelites* carried with them from hence, and preserved it very carefully, as appears from the several Memorandums we meet with in the *Chronicles*, concerning the Burials of the Kings of *Judah*, which are exactly conformable to this *Egyptian* Law.

As to the People, they had their Properties exactly secured to them, were all divided into certain Classes, and each Class had its Trade or Profession, in which Men were bred from Father to Son, and out of which they could not possibly be removed. By this Regulation all Professions were alike cultivated; and though
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they were not alike honourable, yet were none of them esteemed base or mean. The Priests and Soldiers were particularly esteemed. The former were not only the Ministers of the Gods, but the Counsellors of their Kings, and had hereby a very great Power ; whence in all Probability it came to pass, that the ancient *Egyptians* were addicted rather to Peace than to War : Yet we must not suppose that they were then what the modern *Egyptians* are, a timid and effeminate Race of People, altogether averse to military Discipline, and incapable of Hardship ; for their Militia, on the contrary, was the very best in the World, and their Cavalry especially, capable of performing Wonders. But the Love of their Country abated their martial Ardour, and made them content to think, that distinguishing themselves in defensive Wars was not only a just, but a sufficient Title to military Praise, that is, to so much of this sort of Reputation as they desired. But the History and Polity of this People, their Power, their Wealth, and their Magnificence, are not expressly the Subject of their Discourse, but come in occasionally, as Proofs of their Wisdom. The Constitution of *Egypt* was such, as joined to

the natural Fertility and Beauty of the Country, made the People both happy and satisfied, which was the Reason, that though the Love of Glory induced them to march under the Command of the great *Sesostris*, to the Conquest of all the Countries between the *Ganges* and the *Danube*, yet they affected not to retain any of the Provinces they subdued, but contented themselves with Tribute, Acknowledgments of Sovereignty, and erecting strong and lasting Monuments to perpetuate the Remembrance of their Victories.

AFTER this, they enjoyed a long and uninterrupted Peace, which they spent in adorning their Country, and in rendering habitable those Wastes and Desarts, which now through Want of Care are become as inhospitable as ever. To say the Truth, the Cities, Publick Buildings, Royal Sepulchres, Pyramids, and other Monuments, are the clearest and most indisputable Proofs of the Knowledge, as well as the Publick Spirit of this Nation. The Accounts we have in the ancient Historians of the Wonders of the ancient *Thebes*, may, for ought I know, be fabulous; but the Ruins that are still to be seen in all Parts of *Egypt*, are apt to beget Doubts in the

the Minds of Travellers whether any thing reported of the *Egyptian* Buildings be Fable. For these Ruins so evidently surpass any thing that is to be seen elsewhere, except those of *Persepolis*, (which some *Arabian* Authors affirm to have been built by *Egyptian* Workmen) that Men are apt to gather from thence, that the Palaces and Cities of *Egypt*, when entire, were as much superior to those in other Parts. It is true, that this Supposition may be false; yet this is uncertain, whereas that it is probable is a Thing of which we cannot doubt.

ALL the Ruins and Remains of Antiquity in this Country proclaim, if I may be allowed the Expression, with one Voice, the exquisite Taste, as well as the great Skill and admirable Industry of those who erected them. A simple Grandeur, a Magnificence arising from Proportion, a Disposition that pleases every Beholder from the Perspicuity of its Perfection, justly surprizes an intelligent Spectator, when he contemplates either the Palaces or the Temples of *Egypt*. As to the Hieroglyphics with which the Walls of those Buildings are covered within-side and without, I pretend not to meddle with their Contents ; for, as I cannot de-

monstrate exactly the Wisdom contained in them, so I can never bring myself to believe that they are such Marks of Folly as the vain and puerile Interpretations of some of the Learned have made them. I have read, that the *Ethiopians* and *Scythians* made use of Figures instead of Letters in expressing their Notions. It may be, that in ancient Times this was the universal Language of the Learned throughout the East; and I think that it may, in some measure, confirm this Notion, what the most learned Travellers have observed of a sacred and prophane Language, as well as Character, which is still in Use in almost every Oriental Country. To this I think I may add, that the Pictures of Animals were fit to compose what might be called an *Alphabet of Nature*, because they would represent the same Ideas to all Beholders who were once initiated in this Character, which by this Method might be made universal; whether it was, or was not so, is what I cannot, but it is possible some body hereafter may prove.

THE other Publick Works of the *Egyptians*, such as their Mounts, their Canals, their artificial Lakes, are at such a Distance of Time seen with vast Disadvantage. Time hath either levelled,
or

or at least reduced to Hillocks, the first, rendered the second Ditches, or Gutters, to what they were, and converted into loathsome Morasses those glorious Repositories of the best Water in the World, which the Wisdom of the ancient Kings of *Egypt* contrived, and which their industrious and obedient People executed with incredible Labour. But if they are not what they were, they still serve to shew us where these Miracles of Art once were: And there are so many clear Proofs deducible from the Uses to which they served, as well as from the Accounts given of them in History, that we cannot doubt of their being as vast and wonderful as they are represented. By what has been said of the City of *Alexandria*, it will be most evident, that these were not simple Works of Magnificence, or that any more Labour or Cost was employed about them than was necessary to make them what it was fit and requisite they should be. Thus the Lake *Moeris* was to have a Capacity sufficient, if I may so say, to pour another *Nile* through the Desarts, between it and *Alexandria*. I am convinced, from the Vestiges that still remain in the Country on the other side of the *Nile*, that the like Arts were used to supply that Territory

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with Water. And hence, in my Opinion, arises a double Proof of the Populoufness of this Country. For, if there had not been almost an incredible Number of People, how could these immense Works have been performed? and, on the other hand, if *Egypt*, in the Condition it is now in, had been sufficient to supply its Inhabitants with all things necessary, to what end was so much Pains bestowed to render these Desarts habitable, which in their natural State might have served for Fortifications? As to the Number of the Inhabitants under its most ancient Kings, it may well be thought an impracticable Task to ascertain it. However, I think I can render it very probable, that under *Sejostris* there were in this Country between twenty and twenty-six Millions, which I think I could also shew might live as well, and as comfortably in that Country, in the Condition it was then in, as the *Swiss* do in their's, which I take to be the most populous Country in *Europe*.

THUS I take my leave of this Subject; for if the framing a Religion so as to answer all the Ends of State; if the settling a Constitution which subsisted sixteen hundred Years without Alteration; if the
 inventing

inventing a military Discipline which enabled those who were trained up therein to conquer the greatest Part of the then known World ; if the making artificial Seas and Rivers, turning sandy Desarts into fruitful Fields, and erecting fine Cities where Nature had not afforded Materials for a Cottage : If, I say, all these Things, and many more of as stupendous a Nature, which, were it not to avoid Prolixity, I could easily reckon up, do not prove the Authors of them to have possessed solid and extensive Wisdom, then I must confess myself mistaken, and that my Partiality for the ancient *Egyptians* hath led me astray.

I SHALL now speak of the Learning of the modern *Egyptians*, which is no other than that of the *Arabs* ; and I shall the rather do it, First, because there is no Country in which it is better cultivated than it is in this : And Secondly, because from the Accounts I have heard of this sort of Learning in *Europe*, I am apt to think our Notions concerning it are not either so just or so distinct as they might be. That the *Arabs*, in the Days of *Mohammed*, were a very rude and indigent People, is certainly true ; but that they had been always so, or that at this very Time

there were none amongst them that had the least Tincture of Literature, is what I think not altogether so apparent as some would make it. The Reason of my Opinion is this : The *Koran*, or *Bible* of the *Mohammedans*, is written not only in a sublime, but elegant Stile, and, as I observed before, its Elegance is one of the grand Arguments for the divine Inspiration of *Mohammed*. Thus they put it. Our *Prophet*, by his own Confession, was an illiterate and simple *Man*; his Book, however, is written in a pure and flowing Language, adorned with all the Figures of Rhetoric, and superior to any thing that hath been written in the same Language since ; therefore he wrote it by the Direction, or, which is the same thing, had it delivered to him by the *Almighty*. To refute this Proposition, there is nothing more necessary than to consider the manifest Imperfections visible in the *Koran*; such as Facts false stated, Errors in Geography, and Chronology ; and, which is still of greater Importance than any of these, flat Contradictions. But if the *Koran* be not divinely inspired, it is nevertheless excellently writ ; and this is a Proof that the *Arabian* Stile arrived at Perfection, either in, or before the Days
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of *Mohammed*; whence I suppose it will follow, that those who used this Language were not utter *Barbarians*, but Men tolerably acquainted with the most useful of the Sciences, and who were accustomed to discourse of Things natural and divine:

THE Critics admit, that there are in the Book of *Job* abundance of *Arabick* Words; and it is indisputably written in the Manner of that People. This seems a strong Confirmation of what was said before; and indeed I think it can be hardly conceived, that a Nation should remain *Barbarians* in the last Degree, and yet make use of a comprehensive and a copious Language. The Truth seems to be, that a certain Kind of mixt Theology, a sort of moral Philosophy, and a jumbled Notion of Astronomy and Astrology, made up the Learning of the *Arabians*, who were Cotemporaries with *Mohammed*, or lived in the Ages before him. Those who succeeded him were barbarous indeed, for they affected Barbarism, and for several Successions made War on the Republic of Letters, as fiercely as they did on all the neighbouring Nations. It was in this unfortunate Season, when Enthusiasm was triumphant, and Literature in Disgrace, that *Egypt* fell into their Hands, and

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suffered.

suffered no less by their burning all the Manuscripts therein, than by their overturning and destroying those Edifices which Time itself, and all *Barbarians*, but these, had seen with Reverence. By degrees, however, this Passion for Ignorance wore off; and as the *Caliphs* began to think themselves Princes as well as Priests, they likewise grew content to suffer Learning to revive a little, and at last began to cultivate and encourage it. *Abu Jaafar Almanfur*, the second *Caliph* of the *Abassides*, was the great Restorer of Science among the *Arabians*; for he, not contented with the Study of their Language and Laws, which had been hitherto the utmost Limit of any *Caliph's* Knowledge, apply'd himself to the Sciences, and shewed a great deal of Countenance not only to the learned Men of his own Country and Religion, but to Strangers also. As his Reign was long and glorious, so his conduct gave a Sort of Rule to his Successors, who were no longer afraid or ashamed to acknowledge themselves Protectors of Learning, and of its Professors.

THERE did not want, however, some enthusiastical Doctors, who thought that prophane Literature might endanger their Religion;

Religion ; and these Men having great Credit with the People, could not miss of having some also with their Sovereigns; till at length the *Caliph Almamun*, who was the Sixth of the House before mentioned, freed himself from all Restraints, engaged the Learned in all Professions, of all Religions, and from all Countries, to assemble in his Court, and patronized a Multitude of Translations, as well from the *European*, as from the Oriental Languages : By the former, I mean the *Greek* and *Latin* ; and by the latter, the ancient *Persian* and *Indian* Languages. On this Account he is regarded as the *Augustus* of the Learned ; but the Bigots are not yet reconciled to his Memory, they are persuaded, that by an Affectation of Magnificence and universal Benevolence, he corrupted the Manners of the Faithful, and by introducing of foreign Philosophy, made room for a Number of Heresies which have followed in Religion. I mention this to shew, that Men who would cover their own narrow Notions with the Veil of Religion, talk much the same Language in all Places ; not that I am insensible of the Mischiefs which Religion hath suffered by the Intrigues of Men of Letters ; on the contrary, I am sensible that

that a Heresy is seldom dangerous, but when such a Man is at the Head of it ; yet I cannot think that Learning ought to be discouraged on this Account, because, if it should, I know of no Remedy that could be applied to this very Evil. *Julian* was so sensible of this, that though he detested that Method of persecuting, which had been used by *Nero* and *Dioclesian*, yet he bethought himself of another, which would have been more fatal to the Church, that of forbidding her Children to study human Literature. Is it not strange that Bigots and Persecutors should think alike, and recommend one and the same Method with such different Views, as the extirpating and securing Religion ? Or ought we not to be careful of admitting That as a Medicine, when prescribed by suspicious Friends, which our Enemies would force upon us as a Poison ? The wiser Part of the *Mohammedans* have been always in this Sentiment, and especially the Princes of that Religion, who reigned in *Egypt*. These were great Encouragers of Learning, and the Sun-shine of their Favour brought many Strangers of Merit to their Courts.

It is true that the *Mamalukes* turned all Things up-side down, and were as open Enemies

Enemies to Letters, as to Virtue ; fond
 of their own brutal Policy, Power was
 the Idol they worshiped, and a licentious
 Luxury the only Happiness they sought.
 No wonder then that all the Professors of
 Learning fled out of *Egypt*, nor have they
 returned thither but by slow degrees ;
 however, in this last Age a Number of
 concurring Accidents have made the
Arabian Literature flourish here again.
 What chiefly contributed thereto was, the
 retiring hither of many of the richest *Moors*,
 who were driven out of *Spain* ; as also
 the Munificence of such *Turkish* Lords as
 having shelter'd themselves in *Egypt*, enjoy
 either under the Protection of the *Spahis*,
 or *Janizaries*, the Possession of large
 Estates, which they acquired at Court.
 Add to this the Temperature of the Air,
 and the Serenity of the Climate, which
 seem naturally to incline the *Egyptians* to
 certain Studies. But it is time to be more
 particular, and to enter into a direct Detail
 of the Sciences which are at present in
 Vogue amongst the politer Part of the
 Inhabitants of this Country. This I shall
 endeavour to perform as succinctly and
 impartially as I can. For, as on the one
 hand I can never subscribe to the common
 Opinion, that the Inhabitants of all Parts
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of the Earth, except *Europe*, are *Barbarians* ; so I shall never be brought on the other to allow, that the *Europeans* fall short of these in true Wisdom and useful Knowledge, which some who have grown enthusiastically fond of the Oriental Learning would persuade us.

I SHALL begin with observing, that although nothing is more common in *Europe* than to meet with Men who have no Sort of Taste for Books, or Learning of any Kind, yet this is seldom, or rather never the Case in this Country, especially among the *Arabs*. For though there are but few, comparatively speaking, who can read or write tolerably, yet the Knowledge of past Events, and the Contents of Poems and Histories, famous amongst them, is a Sort of universal Passion. Besides, for their Genealogies, and the Histories of their respective Tribes, if we may call this Learning, every Man is possessed of it: They transmit it from Father to Son: They employ all their leisure Time in hearing or telling the Exploits of their Ancestors ; neither is there any thing that endears a Foreigner to them so much, as his listening patiently to those Recitals. Poetry seems to have been in Esteem with all the Oriental Nations from the

the earliest Point of Time; and indeed if Enthusiasm, or supernatural Transport be, as it is generally esteemed, the Essence of Poetry, then the Authors of this Country ought to carry away the Prize, as well in Point of Excellence, as of Numbers. The *Arabick* is, of all Languages, except the *Greek*, the best suited to poetic Compositions, for it is extremely sonorous, very copious, abounding with Epithets, and extremely capable of that Figure which the *Greeks* call *Paranomasia*, which I think I cannot express better than by calling it a Method of assisting *Sense* by *Sounds*, an Embellishment frequently met with in the Sacred Scriptures, and which has certainly very happy Effects; though I know it has not been held a true Beauty by our modern Critics. The *Persian* Language is also extremely capable of all the Excellencies of Poetry, and tho' there are not so many, yet there have been as great and as celebrated Poets of this Nation, as of any other in the *East*; for which Reason, all who pretend to Learning, not only throughout *Egypt*, but through the whole *Turkish* Empire, and the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, apply themselves to this Language, so as to acquire a Facility not only in speaking and reading it, but of
writing

writing it also ; for without this Accomplishment, there is no acquiring the Character of Politeness in any of the Courts of *Asia*. The *Turkish*, which is in Fact a Mixture of various Tongues, viz. the *Arabick*, *Sclavonick*, and modern *Greek*, is yet capable of Compositions very musical and pleasant ; but there are not many Poems of great Fame in this Language unless translated, the politer *Turks* contenting themselves with Madrigals, Sonnets, and a sort of Elegiac Poems, which yet would not be held despicable in any other Language.

NEXT to Poetry, we may reckon their Passion for Moral Philosophy, the Precepts of which are generally delivered in a mixt kind of Works, that is, partly Prose and partly Verse. There are of these in all the Oriental Languages, and they are alike read and esteemed in all. They consist of certain Maxims or Aphorisms, illustrated by short Discourses, Comparisons, Allegories, Apologues, Passages from History, Quotations from Poets, and sometimes Prologues and Epilogues in Verse, by the Authors themselves. This kind of Books are usually recommended to young People, in respect as well to their Pleasantness, as to the Tendency they have to correct their

their Manners. They likewise make a part of the Entertainment of studious and sedentary People, and are sometimes read in select Companies of Friends, who assemble for the Sake of promoting Knowledge. The ordinary sort of *Turks* content themselves with reading, or hearing read to them, certain Romances, full of strange incredible Adventures, but connected by such a strong Spirit of Enthusiasm, and so diversified by the Fecundity of the Oriental Genius, that to those who have heard and understand them, the Pleasure the *Turks* take in them is not at all stupendous, much less ridiculous, as some of our Authors would represent it.

I remember amongst others, to have heard once the following Story read in a pretty large Company : One of the *Caliphs* finding himself in Danger, from the Ambition, Wealth and Power of one of his Ministers, conceived that the safest Way of delivering himself was to sacrifice this Man to the People ; and therefore having ordered him to be put to Death, he at the same Time by Proclamation, bestowed his House and all his Wealth on the Populace. There wanted nothing more than this Royal Permission to set the Mob to work,
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who instantly tore the House in Pieces, every one taking what came first to hand. The Author of this History digresses on this Occasion, into a large Account of the Minister's Luxury, which, as he informs us, was such, that there were in his Kitchen constantly a certain Number of Dishes ready to be set on the Table. Amongst the Mob there was one *Kobak*, a poor miserable Fellow, who subsisted by selling Greens; this Man stumbled by Chance on a Bag with two thousand pieces of Gold, a great good Fortune in outward Appearance, but the Business was to secure it; *Kobak* carried it as well as he could into the Kitchen, and seeing there an earthen Pot half full of Rice and Mutton, he threw his Bag into it, and then setting the Pot upon his Head, marched off in Triumph. The Crowd made Way for him as he passed, shouting and jeering him for making Prize of a little Victuals. *Well, well*, said *Kobak*, *you who have Riches may covet Riches, to me it is something that I have got a Dinner*. The People were so well pleased with the Modesty of this Answer, that they commended the Man, and suffered him to go peaceably to his Hut, where he quickly discovered to his Family that he had brought them Rice
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and Mutton for their Life-time. The *Turks* laughed immoderately at this Relation, which so provoked a *German* who was present, that he could not avoid asking *Osman Effendi*, who brought him, where the Wit or Sense of that Story lay. *Why, Friend*, answered the *Turk* gravely, *art thou one of the Mob, that amongst the Rice and Mutton lose Sight of the Gold, and think your own Ignorance Wisdom ?*

NOT to carry things farther than they naturally go, I think I may affirm, that as the Oriental Imagination is wonderfully sharp, amazingly rapid, and yet always pleasant and amusing ; so there is a Profundity in Judgment, especially observable in the *Moors* and *Arabs*, who have applied themselves to Learning, which can never be described. When one of these Stories hath been read, the Book is generally laid by. Then somebody starts a Question, another replies, and as the Conversation grows warm, a Multitude of shining sublime Things are said, which would appear altogether incredible if repeated. The public Academies, or as we call them in *Europe* Universities, are very numerous in the Countries possessed by *Mohammedan* Princes, and there are a prodigious number of Scholars educated in each of them. It is

is not therefore a real Want of Learning, which makes these People appear so ignorant to our *European* Travellers, but their valuing that Learning most which we value least, and in which few of our Travellers have any Skill at all. Besides, it requires a great deal of Time and Application to acquire any Degree of Knowledge in the *Arabian* and *Persian* Tongues, and a much longer Space to relish the Histories, Poems, and Essays, that are wrote in them. However, if no other Good resulted from it, this alone would justify a Man in taking such Pains, that he hath thereby an Opportunity of reading many *Greek* and *Latin* Authors entire, of which we have only mutilated Copies. For instance, there is certainly a compleat *Arabick* Translation of *T. Livius*; and I have been informed, that there is a compleat Version of *Curtius* in *Persian*. To condemn therefore in the gross all these People esteem, is absurd; because we at the same time include what we study and admire ourselves. But of this enough.

WE are in *Europe* strongly prejudiced against Oriental Histories, but this Prejudice is derived rather from their Manner than their Matter, and sometimes for want of
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of distinguishing Romances from History. It is many Ages ago that *Xenophon* borrow'd from the *Persians* the Plan of the Institution of *Cyrus*, a Work not written strictly according to Facts, and yet not fill'd up with Falsehoods, but with the Appearances of Truth, fitted to amuse and to instruct, not to deceive or to delude the Reader; for it is well known throughout the *East*, and was no doubt as well understood by the *Greeks*, that these Pieces were not strict History, but that they had what the skilful in Musick call a *Ground* of Fact, the Reasoning and Decorations flowing from the Genius of the Author. But besides these historical Romances, which are indeed very numerous, there are in the *East* a great abundance of original and well wrote Histories.

SOME of them contain general Transactions in all Nations, from the Beginning of the World to some certain Period; some the particular of certain Nations; some containing the *Dynasties* of the ancient Kings before the Time of *Mohammed*; some recording the History of the Princes of that Faith, who have ruled in all the Nations that have embraced it. Most of these are in *Persian* or *Arabick*, some in the *Turkish* Language, and a great many translated

translated into it. There are no less than thirteen Histories of the House of *Othoman*, written by several Authors, some in Prose, and some in Verse. Besides, there is hardly a great City in all the *East* of which there is not one, or more Histories. The Lives of *Caliphs*, *Sultans*, famous *Generals*, *Statesmen*, *Historians*, *Poets*, and *Holy Men*, are written apart; and there are likewise numberless Accounts of Earthquakes, Famines, Plagues, Rebellions, Revolutions, and other remarkable Events, penn'd in the way of Chronicle, with excellent Remarks, and curious Observations. Some great Men have compiled large Collections in the Essay kind, long before that kind of Writing was heard of in *Europe*; and the *French* Ambassador at *Constantinople* sent his Master, about the Year 1670, several Volumes written in this Way four hundred Years ago, by a *Vizir* of the *Sultan* of *Khorassan*.

As to Annals, they have Works in that Form of great Accuracy, and of vast Extent. Those of *Persia* make two hundred Volumes; and I am well assured, that the Annals of *China* are of the same Bulk; but then they are an Abridgment only, for those called the Royal Annals of *China* make five hundred Volumes. And there

is a general History of the *Tartars*, which is said to have been examined by a hundred learned Men, divided into five Parts, each containing twenty Volumes. It must however be allowed, that the want of Printing, and the excessive Price of Manuscripts, render Libraries very thin in *Mohammedan* Countries, that is, in Comparison of ours; yet their Libraries are more comprehensive than they seem, since they contain no variety of Editions, much less Duplicates of the same Book. However, in Royal Libraries, and those collected by Men in high Station, and of great Fortune, there are noble Collections. The Royal Library at *Fez* contains thirty thousand Volumes, of which many noble *Moors* have Catalogues. I need say the less on this Matter, because I understand there is a learned Man in *Europe*, who is about to publish a Treatise expressly on this Subject, which will be very curious and entertaining.

As to Chronology and Geography, those necessary Lights to History, our *Western* Authors have so habituated themselves to speak with the utmost Contempt of the Abilities of *Eastern* Writers in respect to them, that it may be dangerous to endeavour the Removal of so old and so universal
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an Error. But as it is an Error, I will venture to remove it, by affirming, that there are as exact Geographical Descriptions in the *Arabick* Tongue as in any other whatsoever; and why should there not? Did we not recover *Ptolemy* from thence? For want of studying these Geographers, we are miserably deceived, and while we laugh at the Ignorance of the Oriental Nations, it is only their Ignorance of our Ignorance, that hinders them from deriding us. For that they have better Accounts of their own Countries than we have, that the Description and History of every little Kingdom swallowed up long ago in the *East*, still subsists in their Libraries, is a Fact that cannot be questioned. And as to Chronology, there are *Arabian* and *Persian* Authors, who have written very learnedly on all the *Æras* that have been in Use among the Nations of the *East*. Nay, I have seen a *Persian* Chronicle, in which the Reigns of the Princes before *Mohammed*, or rather before *Omar*, are computed by Days, and a Method proposed for reducing the *Æra* of the *Hegira*, to that of *Isdegerd*.

BUT that I may not seem to be as much prejudiced in Favour of the Oriental Nations, as some are against them, I will admit

admit that many of the *Turkish* Men of the Law are very ignorant, and so are most of the *Grandees* ; the Professors of Astrology and the occult Sciences are also meer Blockheads ; but then ; have these sort of People no Brethren elsewhere ? Are all Men of the *Robe* in *Europe* *Solomons* ? All Men of Quality Men of Letters ? All Figure-Casters Men of Parts and Probity ? If not, what does the Ignorance of these sort of Men in the *East* prove ? Surely, nothing against the Learning of others, which is what I speak of.

As to Numbers, we ought in Conscience to allow the *Arabians* a competent Knowledge in them ; because we have borrowed our very Figures from them. But besides the common Doctrine of Arithmetic, they are extremely well acquainted with that most curious Science, which we call *Algebra*, tho' I think not very properly ; because this is pure *Arabick*, and the *Arabians* never call that Science so, but constantly use this Form of Expression, *Al Gebr ou Al Mocabelah*, i. e. *Computation by Comparison* ; for *Mocabelah* signifies Opposition, or Comparing, and every body knows that this is the most essential part of that Science. When this Science was first known in *Europe* or

or to speak more accurately, was recovered by the *Europeans*, the common Opinion was, that this Method of computing had for its Author *Geber*, whom the *Arabians* call *Giafar*, and thence came our Appellation. But as this Notion was absolutely without foundation, as the very Composition of our own Word shews to a Person moderately skill'd in *Arabick*, so 'tis but reasonable that this Error should be removed ; and tho' I do not plead for changing the Name of this Science, yet I cannot help wishing that this Appellation should be universally understood. The *Persians* have been remarkably careful in the Cultivation of this Branch of Knowledge, there being in their Language, as well as in the *Arabick*, both in Prose and in Verse, a vast Variety of Works relating to analitical Computation. I cannot however deny, that the *Eastern* Sages entertain some gross Mistakes about this Science, and that they have misapplied it strangely. For Example, they attribute the Invention of this Art to *Aristotle*, whose Fame is very great in the *East*, and of whose Works they have a far better Collection than we. Yet in this they speak without Foundation, for *Algebra* was certainly devised by *Diophantus* of *Alexandria*,

Alexandria, who lived in the second Century, and whose Works both the *Arabians* and *Persians* have in their own Language. As to the wrong Use they make of this Science, it is the same which they make of all Sciences, that is, they would fain convert it into a sort of Divination. The very Piece they ascribe to *Aristotle* is written in this Stile, and bears the Form of a Letter to his Disciple, acquainting him with the Method of divining by Numbers, which Army would be victorious in Battle. A miserable Fall this! and altogether unworthy of that great Genius on whom they would father it. But perhaps I have been already too long upon so dry a Matter, for which I have no other Excuse, than that Men generally fancy they may be allowed to talk much on a Subject which they have studied much. Let me now speak of the present State of Physic in *Egypt*, and so conclude this Discourse.

I HAVE before spoken in general of the ancient and present State of Professors of Physic in *Egypt*; I have also expatiated on the Seasons and different Temperaments of Air in this Country; but as my Intention is to treat this Subject more strictly here, I will resume a few Particu-

lars with respect to the latter, and also add not a few to what I have said of the former. The Air of *Egypt*, considered physically, is hot, dry, unequal, and in some Months nitrous and chilly. In the extreme Heats of Summer, the Inhabitants have recourse to variety of Inventions, for the procuring cool Air, in which they are wonderfully successful ; tho' sometimes to their Prejudice. The North Winds which blow, as I have elsewhere shewn, suddenly and incertainly in the hottest Seasons, are received with too great Avidity, and with too little Precaution, by a People half burnt by the raging Heat of the Season. As there is a prodigious mixture of Nations in this Country, it follows from thence, that their Habit, Temper, and manner of living, cannot, in a physical Sense, be very exactly described. For Instance, in *Cairo* one may easily reckon up between twenty and thirty different Nations, such as *Egyptians*, *Arabs*, *Abyssines*, *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Greeks*, *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Hungarians*, *Sclavonians*, *Russians*, *Moors*, &c. We may however make a new Division of the Inhabitants of this Country, so as to serve our Purpose tolerably well. In the first Place let us reckon those who inhabit Cities

ties and great Towns ; these lead indolent, easy, and luxurious Lives, affect a moist cooling Diet, drink cool Liquors in abundance, and bathe often; hence they are, generally speaking, extremely fat, some monstrously so ; have weak, cold Stomachs, are subject to Ruptures, Dropsies, and Fluxes, and are seldom without Rheums, Defluxions on the Breast and Lungs, and other such like Distempers, which are exceedingly increased by the excessive Use of Women. The second sort are the *Arabs*, who by keeping strictly to the Customs of their own Country and Nation, escape many, if not most of these Diseases, and are of a quite different Temperament, that is, have spare and hectic Constitutions. The third sort are the Villagers or Peasants, a Race of laborious, hardy People, who endure all Seasons, and all Weathers, eat little, work much, are of a dark Sun-burnt Complexion, and are so seldom the Objects of a Physician's Care, that it is hard to say what their Constitutions are, farther than as they are represented by the foregoing Description.

THIS Account will serve well enough to shew how People come to be sick, unhealthy, and short lived ; but as many of

the *Egyptians* escape all these Evils, and attain extreme old Age, it is necessary that this also should be accounted for, at least as far as it may be. All the ancient Historians, and not a few modern Travellers, assure us, that the *Egyptians* live long; and indeed the Fact is indubitable, but then we must admit of proper Distinctions. The native *Egyptians*, the *Arabs*, and the Peasants, are long lived, together with such as are pretty careful of their Health, of which there are several Causes, (amongst which however the Air must never be reckoned,) but the principal Cause is Temperance. In *Egypt* few People eat much Flesh, and the Flesh they do eat, is either Veal, Mutton, or Fowls; they are likewise no Drinkers of strong Liquors, and are extremely careful in preserving a calm and quiet State of Mind. This may seem not very consistent with what I said of their Luxury, but that is not my Fault, the general Intemperance of the Northern and Western Parts of *Europe* give the Inhabitants of those Countries a false Idea of Luxury, which is found in many Things besides eating and drinking, such as in Habit, Attendance, Baths for Pleasure, Perfumes, and a thousand other Things discoverable by human Invention,

vention, when turn'd to so unworthy a Pursuit. With respect to these Things the *Egyptians* are luxurious, nor are they altogether free from it in Point of Diet; for they are careful in gratifying their Tastes, but not immoderate in the use of what they like.

OUR Accounts of *Egypt* always speak of the Plague as a Disease common in *Egypt*, and so indeed it is, for it visits the Inhabitants once a Year punctually, and sometimes commits great Havock; of which more particularly hereafter. But besides the Plague, the Inhabitants are visited by pestilential Fevers, which are mortal in twenty-four Hours; young People, especially at *Cairo* and *Alexandria*, are in Danger every Summer from a malignant kind of Small-Pox, which rages excessively. The Leprosy is also a common Distemper, especially among the meaner sort of People, occasioned by their Meat and Drink. They have in this Country a sort of fat, salt, half rotten Cheese, which both on Account of its Cheapness and of its Relish, is much eaten by the ordinary Peasants, who likewise take up with Greens, Roots, and Pulse, as well as with Flesh not in Perfection, and in the Summer Months when the

Nile is low, are constrained to use other Water, which is not only unwholesome by Comparison with the *Nile*, but perhaps the most unwholesome in the World. In the Neighbourhood of *Cairo*, and even in the City itself, Numbers are afflicted with a kind of Leprosy, which is properly an *Elephantiasis*, whereby from their Hips downwards they are swell'd in such a manner, as to lose the Form of their Limbs, as well as the Use of them, and instead of Legs and Feet, they are supported by shapeless Pillars, like the Legs of Elephants; yet is this extraordinary Swelling without Pain. All kinds of Ruptures, and some of them equally hideous and painful, are very frequent, and so is the Gout, the Gravel, and the Stone, Obstructions, and Inflammations in the Bowels, and all the Diseases of which the Head and Eyes are capable. But of these I forbear to speak particularly, because I do not know that they differ much from the same sort of Diseases in *Europe*; and because I am willing to speak diffusely of the Plague, which, I have said, constantly visits *Egypt*, and of which, tho' our Authors speak much, yet I think little hath hitherto been said accurately about it.

THIS

THIS grievous and destructive Malady, tho' it be much strengthened and increased by the Heat of the Air in *Egypt*, is seldom or never bred there ; so that tho' it may be stiled *endemial* and *epidemic* in *Egypt*, yet it cannot be called *indigenous*, since it is certainly derived either from *Greece* or *Syria*, on the one Side, or from *Barbary* or *Libya* on the other ; and these Plagues are very different. The Plague when it comes from *Greece* seizes many, but its Symptoms are mild, and there are but a few to whom it proves mortal ; the Plague from *Syria* is more fatal, for tho' few are seized thereby, yet more die than in the former Case ; but when the Plague comes from *Barbary*, or *Libya*, it lays all *Cairo* waste, preying on all Degrees of People with grievous and prodigious Symptoms, which mostly terminate in Death, so that few who are struck therewith, preserve either Hope or Reason. When the Plague comes early in the Year, that is, in the Months of *September* or *October*, it does most Mischief, and continues longest ; but when it is late in the Season before it visits *Cairo*, it does not spread so excessively, or do so much Mischief. But whenever it comes, or of whatsoever sort it be, the rising of the

Nile delivers the People at once, not only from the Disease, but from all Apprehensions of it. Seven Months therefore is the Circle of its Reign, in which, if we may believe what the Inhabitants of *Cairo* unanimously assert, it hath sometimes carried off half a Million of Persons; but this is very rare, and if seventy thousand die in a Year of that Distemper, it is held to be a very great Mortality.

Two Things there are, which I think are not easily, if at all to be accounted for, and that is, the coming and the going of the Plague, both of which are Facts so thoroughly asserted, that no Man in his right Senses pretends to doubt of them. That the Plague is propagated in, and transferr'd from Place to Place by the Air, seems to be a Thing out of Dispute, but how it is generated therein, I must confess I cannot say. Those who have lived at *Constantinople* affirm, that it is always more or less in that City, and the common Opinion in *Egypt* is, that the Plague is always in some Part or other of *Barbary*; which if true, one might with some Colour of Reason suggest, that the Wind blowing long from either of these Quarters, might bring along with it the infected Air, which once suck'd in, might
give

give a beginning to the Disease in *Egypt*, where it must be kept up and continued by the stifling Heat of the Summer Months, which tho' not sufficient to produce, may be very capable of circulating and spreading the Disease, and of heightening the Degree of the Infection. The stopping of the Plague, or rather the entire Cessation thereof, is a Thing still more perplexed, because it happens suddenly, on the first rising of the Waters of the *Nile*, and when the North Winds do but begin to blow. However I will offer something on this Head too, which if it be not perfectly reasonable, yet may provoke some more knowing Man to confute it, and establish something better in its Room. Experience hath justified what Men at first, perhaps from Fancy rather than Reason, took for certain, that Plenty of running Water renders Places wholesome; the Reason of this I conceive to be the frequent Change of Air that must necessarily happen in such a Place, for the one Fluid sustaining the other, they both move at once; and therefore I apprehend, that running Water supplies, in some measure, the Place of Wind in purifying the Air. Now it is certain, that while the Plague continues in *Egypt*,
the

the *Nile* runs very slowly, and at last scarce runs at all. But when its Waters begin to swell, which happens by the Supplies they receive from *Ethiopia*, I conceive they bring down with them fresh Air, which is dispersed through the Country at the same Time that the former infectious Air is brushed off by the blowing of the North Wind. I might offer in Support of this Opinion, that wonderful Change that then happens with respect to the Cloaths, Goods, and domestic Utenfils of Persons infected, which are instantly made Use of without any ill Consequences following thereupon, which I think can have no other Cause than the entire Alteration of the Air, now render'd incapable of spreading Infection.

By this Remark I have been put in mind of a Circumstance of very great Importance, and that is, the Means made use of by the *Mohammedan* Inhabitants of *Egypt*, to spread, to propagate, and support the Plague, if I may so term this Obstinacy in shewing a Zeal without Knowledge for their Law. This they do not only by conversing freely with such as have Plague Sores upon them, but by putting on their Garments as soon as they are expired, and even selling these together

ther with their Moveables publickly, and thereby circulating the Infection throughout the whole Place, all which flows from an Opinion, that God having pre-determined the Time of a Man's Death, all Precautions are alike fruitless and ridiculous; from which Notion, the bulk of the People are not to be weaned either by Reason or Experience. From the Diseases let us now pass to the Physicians.

THERE are in *Egypt* many Professors of the different Branches of Physic, of both Sexes; many Oculists, Men who make it their Business to bleed and scarify, and indeed all these are very dextrous in their Way; but for a regular Physician, one who has made the whole Body of the healing Science his Study, and fortified his Reading by compleat Observation, there are none such in *Egypt*, if we except those who come thither from *Europe*. The *Egyptians* are great Takers of Medicines, as well in good Health as when they are sick; some Things they chew for a sweet Breath; they use Electuaries for curing Crudities in the Stomach; they have Syrups and Confections, which answer divers Ends; but above all, they are great Takers of Opium, and other Drugs of that sort, in Order to promote an exhile-

hilerating Sensation, in which some *Euro-*
peans have imitated them, but with little
 Reason, and not much to their Satisfac-
 tion; for they have found at last the Ne-
 cessity of abandoning Opium, from the
 Accidents which follow from their not
 having it by them at the accustomed Time
 of their taking it, which tho' it rarely
 happens, yet by being mislaid, or by
 twenty other Accidents, it may happen
 to any Man, and then his Life is imme-
 diately in Danger, he is surpriz'd with
 Fits, with Convulsions, Vomiting, and
 such a mighty Depression of the Spirits,
 that nothing can be more frightful, or
 more alarming, than to see a Person in
 such a Condition. But it may be requir-
 ed, how since such Symptoms follow the
 Neglect of it in a single Dose, Men ever
 find the Method of leaving it entirely?
 To which I answer, that this is not to be
 done but with Circumspection; for first
 of all the accustomed Dose is abated,
 which that it may give the less Pain, is in
 some measure supplied to the Patient,
 by adding to the reduced Dose a Glass of
 generous Wine. The Quantity of Wine
 is increased as the Quantity of Opium is
 diminished, till at length the Person is
 brought to drink at his accustomed Time
 pure

pure Wine, without any Inconvenience. Afterwards the Wine is decreased in Quantity, so that in six Months it may be left off as well as the Opium, and Nature left to perform what was before the Effect of Art; for what a Man does who has taken Opium, is like what a Puppet may be made to do by Clock-work, it astonishes the ignorant, but Men of Sense have no Opinion of it.

THE *Egyptian* Physicians bleed very copiously almost for all Diseases, frequently without any Disease at all, and this they do without distinction of Age or Sex, which certainly produces a great deal of Mischief, and I make no Question that it heightens to a dangerous Degree, many of the Disorders which it is made use of to abate. The Practice in this Case is not more destructive than the Principle on which it is grounded is ridiculous; for these Dealers in Medicine having, as I said before, no comprehensive Knowledge of the Art they profess, assign such Causes for Diseases as will best satisfy the People. They pretend therefore, that all the Water of the *Nile*, which a Man receives into his Body, becomes Blood; and this they say hath been the Case ever since *Moses* changed the Water of that River into Blood.

Blood. But tho' they may bleed too much, and certainly do it often without any true Reason, yet it must be owned, that they do it most dexterously, and to better Purpose than we do in *Europe*. For instance, they open more Veins than we do. Where there is an intense Head-ach, they bleed in the Forehead, and in the Nose, and thereby frequently cure the Patient upon the Spot. They bleed likewise on the Wrist, behind the Ears, in the Neck, &c. But their great Skill lies in opening of Arteries, which they do frequently, and very successfully, in all Parts of the Body, and without any of those Symptoms which attend the accidental pricking these Vessels in our Northern Climates. They likewise cup and scarify very dexterously; so that I am apt to think, that as they have certainly forgot and lost the Theory of the Antients, they yet as certainly preserve the Methods in Use in those Days, which ought to give us higher Ideas of the practical Skill of the old Physicians than we are apt to entertain; which whether it arises from Envy towards them, or Vanity in ourselves, I pretend not to determine.

I MUST not omit, now I am speaking of the singular Operations performed by the

the *Egyptian* Surgeons, if I may so call them, an odd Way of extracting Stones out of the Bladder, which, as I never heard of in *Europe*, so I have Reason to think it has never been practised there. This is a Business by itself, and those who are skilful therein get a great deal of Money; for the Stone is a common Distemper, not only amongst the *Jews* and *Christians*, but amongst the *Turks* and native *Egyptians*; and it is easy to conceive, that those who are troubled therewith are content to purchase Ease almost at any Price, especially where there is no cutting in the Operation. This the *Egyptian* Artist performs thus. He brings two or three small Tubes of different Sizes, which fit one in another like the Pieces in a Hautboy. They are composed of a cartilaginous Substance, which is extremely capable of Extension. One of these, which is the largest, he introduces thro' the urinary Passage to the Neck of the Bladder, then passing the Finger of his Left Hand into the *Anus*, he pushes the Stone towards the Neck of the Bladder; when this is done, he takes the other End of the Pipe in his Mouth, and by blowing with all his Force wonderfully dilates the Passage, 'till finding the Stone at the
Mouth

Mouth of the Tube, he draws up his Breath at once, and having receiv'd it into his Pipe, he slips down his Hand, and secures it thereby from returning into the Bladder ; then fitting another of his Pipes to the End of that which he had before used, he draws the Stone through the *Penis*, 'till he is able to extract it either with his Finger or an Instrument. How incredible soever this may seem, and I know it will appear incredible to those who believe themselves best Judges in these Matters, yet the Fact is certain ; and I could relate much more concerning it, but that I think this sufficient to those who will believe it, and to those who will not, adding any thing more would only serve to excite farther Contempt.

In the Dropsy they cut very boldly, and often ease the Patient, nay, and sometimes cure him ; but then it must likewise be owned, that Instances are not infrequent where Gangrenes have followed upon this Operation, in part owing perhaps to the Unskilfulness of the Operator, and in part to the Obstinacy of the Patient : For as in *Spain* no sick Person will be restrained from high season'd Hashes, so in *Egypt* Men will rather bear any thing than be interdicted cool Liquors.

THIS

THIS Humour of theirs, which seems at first sight so effeminate, is in truth the Source of their bearing with wonderful Patience such Operations as would terrify People almost out of their Wits in any other Place. For instance, in the Gout, and other Diseases, nothing is more common in *Egypt* than to suffer the Part afflicted to be burnt, not by any Potential, but by an actual Cautery ; which Operation is performed after the following Manner. The Patient being in Bed, the Person who undertakes the Cure rolls up a Piece of Cotton Cloth in the Form of a Pyramid, leaving a Spiracle or Air-hole in the middle ; this Piece of Cloth, thus rolled up, being set on fire, is placed on the Member affected, and there it is suffered to remain till it is consumed to Ashes. By this Means a running Wound or Ulcer is formed, which is kept open as long as may be, and by this means the Patient is very frequently cured, when all other Methods have failed. This they frequently practise for almost all Diseases. For the Head-ach they burn the Temples, and behind the Ears. The *Lumbago* they cure by burning on the Loins. The Dropsy, by raising an Ulcer on the Belly. The Sciatica, by burning
on

on the Hip; and the Gout, by burning above and below the Joint on which it fixes. It is not necessary for me to enquire, whether the Cures that certainly follow this uncouth Manner of Proceeding ought to be attributed to the drying up of the Humours by the Operation itself, or to the draining them off by keeping the Ulcer open; perhaps it is serviceable both Ways. However, it must be owned, that in some chronical Distempers, where the Patients have been quite worn out, and the Wits of our Physicians absolutely at a Stand, this *Egyptian* Remedy hath been try'd with wonderful and unexpected Success. But then it is worthy of Remark, that this, and the rest of their Operations, always succeed best under the Direction of some *Italian* or *French* Physician, which I conceive to be owing not so much to their skill in Physic, as to their Knowledge in Anatomy, wherein most of the *Egyptian* Operators are very indifferently versed, tho' one would think quite the contrary, from their finding and opening the smallest Veins with incomparable Ease and Dexterity: But this Knowledge they have by Tradition, and their Adroitness comes by Practice; so that what I have advanced

advanced cannot be looked upon as incredible or improbable.

I MIGHT add to this Discourse Accounts of the *Egyptian* Preparations for stimulating Lust, for appeasing Care, and for delighting the Mind by pleasant Dreams ; but I think the mentioning of them sufficient to shew that they do not deserve to be particularly treated of, and therefore I shall say no more of them, or of those who contrive and exhibit them. What I have said is sufficient to give a general Idea of the present State of Learning in this Country, which is all I propose to give, and therefore my Task being ended, I willingly lay down my Pen.

It is now time to return to my own Affairs, and to the Reasons which led us to a precipitate Return into *Europe*, after having render'd a Country not very agreeable to Strangers, almost as easy to us as to its natural Inhabitants. In the Month of *August*, we received a Letter from Mr. *Fetherstone*, full of very good News, but with an Intimation, that our Presence at *Leghorn* might be as useful to us, or rather more so, than a longer Residence in *Africk*. In a private Letter to me, Mr. *Fetherstone* informed me that *Johnson* had sold in *France* a little Collection which I had sent

sent him of valuable Stones, for two thousand five hundred Crowns, which was a fifth Part more than I expected ; and he likewise hinted, that if I could bring more of these Stones into *Europe*, they would be more beneficial than Curiosities, on Account of various Royal Marriages which were then talked of. These Letters did not determine either Mr. *Perez*, or myself, to be very hasty in our Motions ; on the contrary, we resolved to make a very large Collection before our Return to *Italy*, especially of Medals, which we purchased very cheap, and of Manuscripts, and figured Gems, which we knew to be much valued in *Europe*, by the Persons sent from *France* and *Italy* to collect them, of whose Errands we had very particular Accounts ; though, for many Reasons, we cautiously avoided any personal Correspondence with them. In three Weeks after the Receipt of Mr. *Fetherstone's* Letter, I had a Message from the *Venetian* Consul, directing me to attend him the next Morning, and, to my Surprise and Concern, was informed that he had two large Boxes which were directed to be put into my Hands by his Correspondent at *Rosetta*, together with a Letter, which notified the Death of my good Friend Dr. *Salviati*, who left
me

me his Papers, some Curiosities he had collected in *Egypt*, and several other Things of Value. I thanked the Consul for his Care and Goodness on this as well as on many other Occasions. He received my Compliments with the utmost Civility, and told me, that he was well acquainted with the sincere Esteem I had always shewn for the Deceased, who was his particular Friend; and that when I inclined to return into *Europe*, he would charge me with a private Commission relating to his own Affairs. I told him, that I had already Thoughts of returning into *Italy*, and was actually disposing my Affairs so as to be able to depart very soon. He said his Business did not require any great Dispatch, and that he should be glad I would give him a Week or ten Days Notice.

ON my Return home, I found another Packet from Mr. *Fetherstone*, the Contents of which were not very material, with respect to me; but there came inclosed a Letter to Mr. *Perez*, which made a very great Impression upon him, and engaged him to be more expeditious than he intended in his Return in *Europe*. As in respect to his own Concerns he was a Man of a reserved Temper, I could never
be

be perfectly informed of the Contents of this Letter ; the utmost I could learn by putting together broken Expressions and distant Discourses was this, that his Uncle, who had been imprisoned by the Inquisition, had, by dint of Interest, escaped ; and the Court finding it necessary to intrust him with Remittances into *Flanders*, he was left more at Liberty than Men usually are who have been once under the Displeasure of the Holy Office. He did not fail to make a proper Use of this Indulgence; for having by large Sums given to Convents, Fraternities, and other Catholick Institutions, confirmed the Priesthood in a good Opinion of him, he at last found Means to retire to *Bayonne*, after remitting into *France*, *Holland*, and the *French Flanders*, an immense Sum of Money, of which he was possessed when he was first seized, and which he had found Means to secret in spite of all the Vigilance of the Inquisitors. This Event made a great Alteration in the Affairs of Mr. *Perez*, not only on account of his near Relation to this Person, but by reason of his having a considerable Part of his Fortune in his Hands, which he was now in a Condition to restore. What this Proportion was, either of Mr. *Perez's*,
or

or of his Uncle's Substance, I never knew; but I have Reason to think, that it was very considerable from Mr. *Perez's* Conduct. His Reservedness was not on Account of himself, but of his Relations, of whom he had many in *Spain* and *Portugal*, whose Safety depended intirely on his Taciturnity. After meditating a Day or two upon this Letter, he told me that he was determined to go immediately to *France*, when an Opportunity should offer; that as to his Effects, he would leave them to my Care, and that on my settling a general Account with Mr. *Fetberstone*, he would let me know his Sentiments farther. In the mean time he became very grave and thoughtful, spoke little, affected to be alone, and seem'd to be uneasy at our longer Stay in *Egypt*.

THIS induced me to make all the Haste I could in settling Things for our Return; which having at last performed, I went to wait upon the *Venetian* Consul, and to receive his Commands. They related to the Sale of some Jewels which he had already sent to *Venice*, and about which an Agent from a great *Italian* Prince had given himself a good deal of Trouble. The Consul had some Suspicions which he communicated to me, directed me how I

should be satisfied, and at the same time put into my Hands an Order to his Correspondent to follow in this Affair the Directions he should receive from me. As I looked upon myself to be extremely honoured by this Mark of the Consul's Favour and Confidence, so I was no less obliged to him for a Present he made me of a Cabinet of Curiosities at my Departure, and the Pains he took in recommending me to the Captain of the Ship in which I returned to *Italy*. But of these Things hereafter. At our leaving *Cairo*, *Antonio*, who served us long and faithfully, engaged himself so far in an amorous Intrigue as to make it his Choice to stay behind, and to enter into the Service of the *French* Consul. Mr. *Perez* expressed some Surprize at this, having been extremely kind to him, and intending him much greater Favours. At first we could not penetrate his Reasons, but before we left *Rosetta*, we learned that he had married a *Greek* Wench; so that in all Conditions of Life it seems Love hath for a Time a stronger Influence than Interest.

We arrived at *Rosetta* in the Beginning of *November*, and the first Place I went to was the Patrons of my Friend *Salviati*, to return them Thanks personally, as I had

had already done by Letter, for their Care and Exactness in fulfilling that good Man's Will. They told me, that though he had had considerable Opportunities of getting Money, yet he did not die worth above four hundred Sequins, which he had left to them to be distributed in Charity; and which they put into the Hands of the Fathers of Mercy, to be employed in the Redemption of Christian Captives, adding a hundred Sequins of their own. I cannot, on this Occasion, avoid setting down what I have often observed, that there is in eminent Merchants a greater Fund of Justice, Honour and Beneficence, than there is in almost any other kind of People; at the same time that of all others they speak least of these Things, but content themselves with that Satisfaction which is the Result of doing worthy Actions, and which is infinitely more grateful, as well as less disturbing, to a wise Man, than the Acclamations of a Multitude. After three Weeks Stay at *Rosetta*, Mr. *Perez* found an Opportunity of going directly to *Marseilles*, which he eagerly embraced, promising, that on his Arrival he would write to Mr. *Fetherstone*, and acquaint him either with the Time of his returning to *Leghorn*, or of any other Measures he

should find it necessary to take. He took his leave of me with all imaginable Testimonies of the most sincere Friendship, presenting me with a very fine Ruby set with Diamonds; in return I gave him a gold Tobacco Box, which was very curiously wrought, and which had been intended for the Bashaw of *Cairo*, as a Present by a *French Merchant*; who dying suddenly, I bought it of his Nephew.

I WAS under a Necessity of remaining a Fortnight longer at this Place, during which Time, an *Armenian Merchant*, whom I had first seen at *Leghorn*, and whose Name was *Ephraim Sadi*, had well nigh persuaded me to think of going to the *Indies*. He had been there twice, and was immensely rich; yet neither the Fatigues he had endured, the Perils he had run through, or the Wealth he had acquired, could cure him of that Itch of Travelling which so unaccountably possesses the Mind of a Man, and urges him to wander for the mere Sake of Wandering, and to fly that Quiet, to procure which is the sole reasonable Cause for Travel. This Signior *Ephraim* was a Man of wonderful Genius; he spoke nine Languages perfectly, among which were *English* and *Low Dut. b.* He had the most extensive

extensive Idea of Traffick of any Man I ever conversed with, and a Generosity in dealing, which, wherever he came, secured him a Preference in every thing. He was perfectly skill'd in Jewels, and in all the Trades relating to them; he understood the cutting and setting them to the utmost Nicety, and had so many Secrets for helping their Defects, and heightening their Lustre, that tho' I had been now for many Years conversant in these Things, yet I found myself, in respect to him, Mr. *Pucci's* Secret excepted, a perfect Novice. He was affable, communicative, sincere, beneficent, and the most amiable Man in the World, if he could ever have thought of staying in a Place. He was now going to *Leghorn*; he proposed travelling from thence by Land into *France*; then, after visiting *Amsterdam* and *Brussels*, he thought of going to *London*; from thence by Sea to *Portugal*; whence he was to sail to *Goa*, as soon as an Opportunity should offer: And all this he proposed to do in the Compass of three Years, being then about fifty-one, and having, as he assured me, never felt any Sickneſs, except now and then some wandering Pains in the Stomach and Bowels, which

he cured by bathing, and anointing with warm Oils.

I COULD not forbear sometimes opposing a little his favourite Humour of Travelling, by hinting, that it took off all Love for our native Country ; that it seem'd repugnant to the Nature of Man, that it kept the Spirits in a continual Flutter, and that above all things it exposed Men to the Danger of immature and unprovided Deaths. He was always mightily pleased to have an Opportunity of displaying his Eloquence on this Subject. He laughed at the Love of one's Country, as an idle and narrow Notion. One God, said he, created us all ; we come the same Way into the World ; we have the same Business in the World ; and when we go out of it, we are to account before the same Judge : All Men therefore are Brethren, and the World only is every Man's Country. For my part, said he, I have seven People constantly in my Family ; my Physician, who is a *Spanish Jew* ; my Steward, a *Greek* ; my Secretary, an *Italian* ; my two Footmen, *Swiss* ; my Cook, a *Frenchman* ; and my Groom, a Native of *Lorraine*. We live all together very happily, and we account ourselves all Countrymen. As to the Nature of Man,

Man, said he, there can be no Repugnancy to it in Travelling, any more than in any other Action; besides, there is nothing more various than the Nature of Man, and therefore every Man has a Right to do what is agreeable to him, provided it be innocent to others. As to the Hurry of Spirits, it is, continued he, a Distemper of the Mind, and wherever it seizes a Man, it seizes him in some Place or other; therefore the changing of Place, or remaining in the same Place, hath nothing to do with this, for the Mind may be kept easy and unmoved when the Body is in Motion, as well as when it is at rest; nay, I am apt to believe, that Travelling contributes to Quiet as Motion does to Ease; Change of Objects, soothing the Soul, as the Heat resulting from Motion, asswages Pain. But in all these Cases the various Tempers and Constitutions of Men are chiefly to be regarded. Immature and unprovided Death, added he, we ought all to fear; neither can we either by Travelling, or making long Voyages by Sea, escape from it; but this being so, it is plain we may as well die in one Country as another, or to speak more like a Christian, we ought not to consider so much where or how we may die,

as in what Frame of Mind Death shall find us. This depends upon ourselves; and if we take but Care to be good Men, evil Accidents, and even a sudden Death, will not much terrify or afflict us. Human Life is a chequer'd Tablet, which retains its Mixture of black and white, whether moved or left standing.

THESE were the Arguments he used to justify his Love to roving; and tho' it must be acknowledg'd that they are of such a Nature as Reason is forced to dictate when the Imagination is too strong for her, yet I confess they made some Impression upon me, or, to speak the Truth, I was charmed with his Magnificence, and princely Way of Living, and suffered my Mind to swell with the vain Ambition of imitating what I ought to have pitied. But as a waking Dream led me wrong, so a Vision of the Night set me right. It happened one Evening, after having sat late with my Friend *Ephraim*, (for we lodged in the same House) when I retired to my own Apartment, I found myself little inclined to sleep, and as little inclined to read. I walked up and down for some Time without thinking, if it be possible, of any thing, till I found myself weary on the sudden, and
scarce

scarce able to keep my Eyes open, when throwing off my Clothes, I got as soon as I could into Bed. I had scarce closed my Eyes, before I fancy'd my Man *Johnson* was in the Room, and that I was conversing with him as I was wont about my Affairs; to which, methought, he made me little Answer, but seem'd rather to be uneasy that I continued this Discourse. Upon this I press'd him, with much Warmth, to speak his Sentiments, assuring him, that I had a great Deference for his Advice, and that I would take nothing ill he should think fit to say to me. Upon this I thought he began to look more pleasant, and at length address'd me thus. I am always, Sir, exceedingly concerned when I differ from you in Opinion, and when my Affection for your Person obliges me to cross your Inclinations; however, give me Leave to say, that you have hitherto been guided a little too much by hasty Notions and Opinions, not quite so well digested as might have been expected from a Man of your Parts. Do not you remember, Sir, the Sentiments you had, and the Resolutions you framed in your Voyage down the *Nile*? Can you imagine, Sir, that Providence will always extricate you out of those Difficulties into

which you wilfully plunge yourself? You left *England* because you was not safe; you left *Europe* because you had a small Fortune; you have nothing now to fear or to wish; why then would you go to the *Indies*? This *Armenian* hath no Country, and therefore he does well to look upon every one as his own; but it is not so with you; you ought to know this, and to make a right Use of it. While I fancied I was meditating on what *Johnson* had said, I awaked, but so confused and disturbed, that I much doubted whether I retained my Senses. I got up, addressed myself to those Means which never fail to calm the Spirits of Men who trust in God, and by Morning composed myself to a settled Resolution of returning, if it was practicable, into *England*, and there leading a quiet and retired Life.

A FEW Days after this, I received a Packet from the *Venetian* Consul, acquainting me, that a Vessel would shortly arrive at *Rosetta* from the *Arches*, and that upon his Letter to the Captain, which was inclosed, I might find a safe and commodious Passage to *Leghorn*. This accordingly took effect, the Vessel arrived the same Week, and sailed a few Days after, having no Passengers on board except Signior

nior *Ephraim*, his Family, and myself. There happen'd nothing singular in our Passage, except the Illness of the *Jew* Physician, who was so extremely disorder'd with Sea-Sickness, that if we had not made the Port as we did, he would in all Likelihood have died. I assisted him the best I could ; but inasmuch as he would take no Broths of our making, I knew not what to do with him, till I thought of Chicken-broth, some of which, on seeing the *French* Cook cut off the Head of the Creature, and drain it thoroughly of its Blood, he, with some Difficulty, consented to take, which kept up his Spirits, and saved his Life. He was a very honest Man, but most inordinately superstitious, having with the *Jewish* Obstinacy all the Punctilio of a *Spaniard*. Signior *Ephraim* depended much upon him in all Things, and with Reason, for he was certainly a Man of Skill in his Profession, and of great Probity, for which the *Spanish Jews*, perhaps, as *Spaniards*, are eminently distinguished.

ON my Arrival at *Leghorn*, Mr. *Fetherstone* hardly knew me, on Account of my having lost much Flesh, and my Complexion altogether. *Johnson* was gone to *Florence* to sell a large Cabinet of Medals, which

which I afterwards understood was bought by a *French* Gentleman for the Chancellor of *France*. I would not suffer Mr. *Fetherstone* to write to him of my Arrival, that I might have the Pleasure of surprizing him at his Return to *Leghorn*. In this I certainly acted very foolishly; for tho' Mr. *Fetherstone* was some time before he knew me, yet *Johnson* discover'd me at first Sight, and was so much amazed at this unexpected Interview, that he swoon'd, and was with Difficulty recovered. Thus, for the Gratification of an idle Humour, the meanest Pleasure in the World, I put the Life of one of the honestest Men in it to the Hazard, an Act for which I cannot easily forgive myself.

It was not long after my Return to *Leghorn*, before, in a Conversation with Signior *Ephraim*, the Price of Jewels at that Time happen'd to become the Subject of Discourse; he thereupon ask'd me whether I had ever seen any that were truly excellent, and of a very large Size, adding, that he had lately sent into *France* some of the best colour'd Stones that ever were brought into *Europe*; of which, at my Request, he shew'd me the Models. Among these were some Sapphires, blue, and white, of a very extraordinary Size,
and

and according to his Description, of uncommon Beauty ; but as for the Emeralds he sent, I judged them to be far inferior to mine ; and so I told him. Upon this he desired to see them. I shew'd him seven, reserving the four largest I had for another Time. He said very ingenuously, they were the finest he had ever seen, that is, they had the fewest Imperfections, most or all of which might be taken away by their being judiciously set. To cut the Matter short, he told me that he had at that time such a Commission, as would enable him to give more for these Stones than I could reasonably expect, or than I could possibly get for them, especially if I sold them all together. He then named a Price, which he affirmed was the utmost he would give, and indeed it was such a one as in Prudence I could not refuse ; so the Bargain was presently concluded, and I had the Pleasure of seeing this Point of a settled Fortune, which I had been so long pursuing, compleated in a few Hours. After this Signior *Ephraim* spoke to me of Diamonds, and of Rubies, but I told him that I had none worth shewing him, but that I had an Authority to dispose of some that were excellent at *Venice*, if a Person
 who

who had bid Money for them did not come up to the Price, which by the next Post I should set upon them. He smiled, and asked me if the Jewels were not in the Hands of such a Person, and if such a Man had not offered Money for them. I was amazed at this, supposing that the *Venetian* Consul at *Cairo* had spoke to him upon this Subject, but I was mistaken, the Person at *Venice* was Signior *Ephraim's* Agent; he told me so frankly, and offered to send a Person who should pay the Money at *Venice*, provided I sent an Order for the delivering the Jewels. I accordingly consented, and Mr. *Johnson*, notwithstanding the Fatigue he had lately undergone, readily agreed to go with Signior *Redi*, the *Armenian's* Secretary, in order to put an End to this Business, which was of very great Concern.

I WAS afterwards informed, that Signior *Ephraim* collected all these Jewels for a *French* Merchant who had been in the *Indies*, and having sold all the Stones he brought from thence, took this Method of recruiting, and by dint of his Character, got a large Profit for himself; tho' he gave very high Prices, yet he would deal in nothing that was not perfect in its kind. All this was nothing to me, the quick
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Negotiation of such important Affairs effectually satisfying all my Desires, and making me richer than I thought I had any Title to be ; so that I sometimes doubted how I came by such Sums of Money, and was amazed at the Kindness of Providence, knowing that I had not deserved such Things ; perhaps they were given me that I might deserve them. While Mr. *Johnson* was gone to *Paris*, Mr. *Fetherstone* and I employed our Time in settling a general Account, Mr. *Perez* having written him a Letter sometime before my coming to *Leghorn*, desiring it might be done as speedily as possible, and such a Valuation made of the Effects remaining, as Mr. *Fetherstone* and I should agree upon; and this being done, he desired the Account might be transmitted to Mr *Abraham Lopez*, a Merchant at *Marseilles*. Upon adjusting all Matters, it appear'd that there was a Ballance due to him of three thousand Pistoles, half of which Sum we remitted with the Account, and offered him the Remainder when he should be pleased to draw for it ; but instead of doing this, Mr. *Perez* wrote us a most obliging Letter, wherein, after desiring me to take out of the Effects whatever Curiosities I might esteem, he gave all the
rest

rest to Mr. *Fetherstone*, concluding his Letter with these Words; *God hath now restored to me so ample an Estate, that not to make my faithful Friends participate with me, would be an Ingratitude capable of drawing upon me another Reverse of Fortune.*

AFTER this we heard no more of Mr. *Perez*, and we had reason to believe he did not long survive his good Fortune, a Friend of his at *Genoa* having received a Letter by the same Post that we did, without ever having a second, and we both writ in vain to *Marseilles* several Times. I neglected nothing during the Absence of Mr. *Johnson* that might contribute to the drawing my Affairs within a very narrow Compass. As for Mr. *Fetherstone*, his Affairs were now very easy, and he seemed to wish as I did for an Opportunity of returning to *England*. However, we both referr'd all Thoughts of these Matters, till we should have disposed of all the Curiosities we had by us, and amongst those there were upwards of 700 Medals of Gold, Silver, &c. We disposed them in several Cabinets, together with Gems, Bass Reliefs, and other Antiquities, with Descriptions in *French* and *Italian*, in preparing of which we had
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the Assistance of the Virtuosi. Thus employ'd, and all along with a View of returning to *England*, it fell out that one Morning after I had been awake and reflected on several Things, I fell fast asleep, and dreamt exactly the same Dream I had at *Venice*, that is to say, I saw myself in a large Meadow bounded by a River, on the other Side of which I saw *Lucia* walking; but whereas before I was at a vast Distance from the Bridge, I saw myself now very near it, and *Lucia* on her Side seem'd advancing to me. When I awaked and considered this, I rose with as much Alacrity and Satisfaction as if some great good Luck had befallen me, and I had all that Day such an unusual Flow of Spirits, that every body took Notice of it. How frail a Thing is Man? a Dream alters his Conduct, and at the Distance of thirty Years, he has a secret Pleasure in owing his Folly.

On the Return of *Johnson* to *Leghorn*, after the first Ceremonies were over, and Mr. *Fetherstone* was withdrawn, he gave me an Account of the Success of his Journey, the Delivery of the Jewels, and presented me with a Letter from the *Venetian* Consul, which contained a short Compliment, and a Draught on a Merchant at
Leg-

Leghorn, for the Value of 300 *Sequins*, as a Compensation for the Trouble and Expence I had been at in negotiating this Affair, which I gave Mr. *Johnson* as a Gratification for many fatiguing Journies he had taken in my Service, tho' his Modesty was so great, that it was with some Difficulty I prevailed upon him to accept it. These Things adjusted, I was upon the Point of calling Mr. *Fetherstone*, when *Johnson* stopt me, Stay Sir, said he, I have Business now of another Nature with you. I call'd on Mr. *Hales* to know whether he had had any farther Account of your Affairs; there with some Difficulty this Letter was found, which had been transmitted to *Geneva*, and returned from thence; so that to be sure it is of an old Date. I had several times a Mind to open it, but having considered better of it, I desisted. This Letter was from *Lucia*, it contained an Account of her Brother's carrying her into *England* a kind of Prisoner, under Pretence of her eloping from her Husband. On her coming to *London*, he would not suffer her to stir abroad, but on Condition of marrying the Gentleman lately returned from the *Indies*, which she absolutely refused, upon which he hurried her down into *Leicestershire*, to an Aunt of this Gentleman's,

tleman's, where she was not less strictly guarded, till at last she took a bold Resolution of writing to a Justice of Peace a little before the Assizes, and enclosing a Letter to the Judge, which throwing out of her Window into the *London* Road was taken up, and delivered as directed. Upon this she was immediately set at Liberty, and retiring to her Father's House in *Lincolnshire*, found him still living, but so childish, that he hardly knew her; her Brother-in-law and Sister not a little incensed against her by the Arts of her Brother, which afflicted her so much, that she resolved to come to *London*, and live privately there. These Transactions took up seven Months, and the Letter being transmitted to *Venice*, was sent from thence to *Geneva*, where my Landlord being dead, it was according to a Direction sent with it returned to *Venice*, where it lay till it fell thus into my Hands.

I instantly wrote an Answer according to a Direction at the Foot of this Letter, beseeching *Lucia* to afford me a farther Account of her Affairs as soon as possible. In the mean time I redoubled my Preparations for returning into *England* at all Events, tho' by the Way, this was a very mad Proceeding, considering that I stood
out-

out-lawed, and the *English* Court did not shew any great Inclination to treat Persons in my Condition with Lenity. However, Mr. *Fetherstone* and *Johnson* having as strong a Passion as I for seeing once again their native Land, did not oppose me therein, relying upon my Prudence in taking Care of my own Safety. When the Time was elapsed, in which I might reasonably have expected a Return from *Lóndon*, I grew very impatient, and at length melancholy. A thousand Inventions occur'd for gaining Intelligence from *England*, and were thrown aside again as impracticable.

At length a Letter from *Lucia* arrived, which deliver'd me from this Perplexity that had wasted my Spirits more than all the fatiguing Journies I had taken, and all the Difficulties I had run through. This Letter informed me, that her Father being dead, she was gone down to *Leicestershire* to settle her Affairs when my Letter came, and that it had been kept for her till her Return ; that her Circumstances were now very easy, tho' the barbarous Unkindness of her Relations had for two Years and a half made her suffer the greatest Difficulties ; that she had some Interest with the *Temple Family*, with
Sir

Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, Secretary of State, and the Lord *Daventry*, lately created Lord High Chancellor, so that she made no Question of procuring my Outlawry to be reversed, if I was really determined to come to *England*. I mentioned something of this to Mr. *Fetherstone*, but he immediately suggested another Method, which was addressing myself to the Duke of *Bucks*, tho' he was at that Time on bad Terms with the Court; but he advised that the other Interest also should be kept and made Use of. His Reasons were these, he said, that the discontented Party in *England* were very numerous and powerful, and that if I applied myself to the Ministry, they would not fail to cause such Representations to be made, as might possibly prevent the Outlawry from being reversed; but that if I applied to the others, they would recommend the Thing to the Duke of *Monmouth*; upon which it would in all Probability be referred to the Lawyers, and then my Interest with the *Chancellor* and the *Secretary* would stand me in great stead. But above all he pressed me to get as strong Recommendations as I could to Sir *William Temple*, who was then in *Holland*; for as he was a Gentleman agreeable to both Parties, and had
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at that Time a very great Interest, there was Reason to believe his espousing my Cause would effectually secure it Success. To this I answered, that I had no manner of Interest with the Duke of *Buckingham*, that except what I learned from him, I scarce knew any thing of the State of my own Country, but that however I was very anxious to see it again. You do not at present, Sir, said Mr. *Fetherstone*, want Money, and he that hath that, hath an Interest, or the Means of creating an Interest in all Courts, and in that of *England* particularly. I told him, that having been never over-fond of Money, I should not be unreasonably tenacious of it at this Time. He smil'd, and made me Answer, he would make it his Business to consider how it might be employ'd for my Advantage. In a Day or two *Johnson*, he, and I, being together, I asked him whether he had considered as he promised me of a Method for facilitating what we all so much wish'd, a safe and speedy Return into our own Country. Mr. *Fetherstone* answered he had, and that he would be accountable for its Success. *Johnson* seemed to be no less pleased at this than I, for as he told me he was not a little diffident on this Head, tho' he said nothing

nothing for Fear of discouraging me. We then desired Mr. *Fetherstone* to explain himself upon this Point. There wants, said he, but very little Explanation. You know Sir, continued he, addressing himself to me, how I procured the Favour of his Grace of *Buckingham* once before ; we are now better provided, I will carry over a Cargo of Curiosities, some Jewels, and a little Money, and in a Month or two be assured that you may follow me, provided you furnish me with Instructions how to cultivate that Interest which you say you have yourself at that Court. All this appeared as feasible to us as it did to him, and therefore that no Time might be lost in the Execution of our Project, I wrote that very Night to *Lucia*, to acquaint her therewith, and we resolved that Mr. *Fetherstone* should depart the very Moment we received her Answer. But our Measures received an unexpected Change in a few Days, by Means of a Letter that I received from *Lucia* ; she advised me, that two Persons in the same Circumstances with myself, had been pardoned at the Intercession of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that as she was related to Mr. *Draycot*, who was his Grace's Gentleman of the Horse, she

she look'd upon it as a Thing certain,
 that if I thought it proper, she could se-
 cure an Interest there. Upon maturely
 deliberating this Proposition, *Johnson* of-
 fered it as his Opinion, that Mr. *Fether-*
stone should without more ado, embark on
 board a Ship ready to sail for *England*, in
 order to co-operate with this Lady in so
 important an Affair. Mr. *Fetherstone*
 readily came into this Motion, and the
 third Day after sail'd for *England*, of
 which I also advertised *Lucia* by Letter.
 It must be own'd, that tho' Mr. *Fether-*
stone's Care and Diligence conducted this
 Matter to a happy issue, yet our Mea-
 sures were very precipitate, in as much as
 they expos'd Mr. *Fetherstone* to some Ha-
 zard, and drove this Business very hard,
 which rather should have been conducted
 with leisure. However, as it was attended
 with no Loss but that of Money, I had
 no Occasion to repine, neither did I; but I
 could not help seeing that I had acted
 wrong, and therefore I note it, for tho'
Luck may cure *Blunders*, yet it ought ne-
 ver to hide them.

DURING Mr. *Fetherstone's* Absence I
 had recourse to my old Method of di-
 verting myself by digesting my Papers,
 and by putting into Writing such Obser-
 vations

vations as occurred to me on several Subjects. I likewise made a choice Collection of *Italian Books*, and of such *Greek* and *Latin Authors* as had been printed at *Rome* and at *Venice*. I likewise consulted the *Virtuosi* on some of the many Oriental Manuscripts I had brought over, and by these Arts of withdrawing from myself passed my Days with tolerable Ease, which otherwise I believe I should not have done. One Morning when I was hard at my Studies, I was informed that a strange Gentleman desired to speak with me; they call'd him strange, because they saw he was just arrived. He proved to be a *French Jeweller*, sent on purpose to know if I had or could procure one Emerald more of the Size of them I had sold to Signior *Ephraim*. I told the Gentleman I could not, at which he seemed very much concerned, adding, that if I could, he would have given a great Price for it. I told him I had an Emerald by me which was larger than any of those. Ay, Sir, said he, but then it must be foul. I told him it was not, and upon my producing it, he was so amazed, that he could hardly speak. He was himself a very good Judge of Stones, yet we had some Difficulty in settling the Point whether it was or was not an Emerald, in respect to which he

VOL. II. O insisted

insisted on his shewing it to the Jeweller of the Grand Duke, to which I would by no means consent ; however I told him, if he would buy it, he might then shew it to whom he would, and that he should deposite the Money in a Person's Hands whom I would name, who should restore it to him if he was not contented in three Days Time. To this he would have assented, but he had not the Money ready, not expecting to be asked above half the Sum I insisted upon for this Stone. This Difficulty I presently removed, for I consented to take a third Part of the Money down, and two Parts in Bills, which being deposited in the Hands of an *English* Merchant I named, the Stone should be produced to the Jeweller of the Grand Duke. In three Days the whole Affair was adjusted to every body's Satisfaction, the Grand Duke's Jeweller offering a hundred Crowns to my Chapman to quit his Bargain, which he refused to do, and so I received the third Part in Money, and Bills for the other two thirds immediately. Another Piece of unexpected good Fortune, for which I stood accountable to Providence.

BEFORE I received any News from Mr. *Fetherstone* I had another Letter from *Lucia*, purporting that my worthy Cousins having Notice of some Applications made for
reversing

reversing my Outlawry, were come up to Town in order to solicit against it, to prevent my filing a Bill for the Principal and Interest of the Mortgage on my Uncle's Estate. The Passion of going Home was so strong upon me, that I immediately executed a general Release before a Notary Publick, and transmitted it to *London*, where Mr. *Fetherstone* delivered it to my Cousins, who upon this became my very good Friends, and joined heartily in doing me all the Service they could, the rather I suppose, because they apprehended that I was returning Home very rich. However when all came to all, and much Time and Money had been spent in procuring a Warrant for the Reverse of my Outlawry, it appeared that I had never been outlawed at all. My Name was in a List for that purpose, and part of that List were outlawed, and the Remainder were ordered to be outlawed at the next County Court, but by the Death of the Sheriff, and the removing the Under Sheriff, this Order slept, and there was no Record of the Outlawry, and consequently no Possibility of reversing it. On this Head I had no body to blame but myself; I had been advised of the Outlawry by my Uncle, I acquainted Mr. *Fetherstone* with it, and my

Cousins assured him that the Thing was so. When it came out, as it did, the younger of my Cousins asked Mr. *Fetherstone* what he intended to do. I intend, answered he, to write to him to come Home. Not so, said my Cousin, he hath been very generous to us, and we will be just to him; these Courtiers have had his Money, why should he not have a general Pardon? This was well put in, for otherwise I had assuredly come Home, and when the *Swearing Harvest* came on, I had certainly stood a Chance of being put into a *Popish* or a *Protestant* Plot, if not both. In consequence then of this just Observation, a Warrant for a Pardon was obtained, of which I had Advice given me, it being supposed that I might with Security enough now return Home.

I received this Letter in the Month of *March*, and resolved immediately to embark for *England*. On this Occasion *Johnson* interposed; he said he apprehended it would be better if I did not go to *England* till the Pardon was actually sealed, that it was not impossible but new Difficulties might be started, and that it would be very difficult to get over any of them if I was in *England* at the Time. I was however not to be moved, which when *Johnson* saw, he

he made another Proposition, it was this, that he should embark with my Effects on board a Vessel then in the Port, and that I should go by Land to *Paris*. This was so reasonable that I could not but approve it. Accordingly three Days after *Johnson* had embarked I set out for *France*, and travelling very leisurely, arrived at *Paris* the 21st of *April*.

I wrote that very Night to *London*, and by the Return of the Post was acquainted of *Johnson's* safe Arrival with my Effects, and that my Pardon was sealed but the Day before; so that *Johnson's* Foresight came in Time, and I reaped that Benefit, for which few Men are thankful, the Blessing of having a Servant wiser than myself. All Obstacles being now removed, I set out from *Paris* with the Secretary of *M. Courtin* the *French* Ambassador for *Calais*, and the Day after we arrived there, crossed to *Dover* by Noon, and the next Day being *May* the 9th 1676, arrived in *London*, where I found all my Friends at Mr. *Fetherstone's* Lodgings in *Aldermanbury*, having been sixteen Years out of the Kingdom, and returning now almost as great a Stranger to it as if I had not been born therein.

6 JA 63



I N D E X.

☞ The Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page,



- A** BRAHAM Alexandria, *his Character* i. 308
Our Author's Concern with him 309
Consequences thereof 311
 Abyffinia. See Ethiopia
 Alexandria, *the Author's Arrival there* i. 304
*His Transactions while resident there-
 in* 311
A compendious History of that City 316
A copious Description thereof ii. 9
The Author's Departure thence 16
 Al-Mamon *the Caliph, Story of him* ii. 54
 Alms *of the Mohammedans* ii. 204
 Altoviti Signior, *Account of him* i. 304
 Ancrè Marshal de, *Account of him* i. 116
His Conduct in Prosperity 117
His great Insolence 118
Plot laid to take him off 119
His miserable End 120
 O 4 *Designs*

I N D E X.

<i>Designs imputed to him</i>	i. 121
<i>Account of his Son</i>	ibid
<i>Marshallefs, vide Galigai</i>	
<i>Antonio, Servant to the Author</i>	i. 256
<i>His Adventure in Malta</i>	271
<i>His Serviceableness in Egypt</i>	307
<i>His Kindness for the Author</i>	ii. 61
<i>Resolves to remain at Cairo</i>	290
<i>Arabs, some Account of their Manners</i>	ii. 63
<i>Farther Observations on them</i>	74
<i>Remarks on their Dispositions</i>	95
<i>Account of those in Egypt</i>	174
<i>How divided and why</i>	175
<i>High Opinions of their Nobility</i>	176
<i>Their Temper and Valour</i>	178
<i>Their Genius and Capacities</i>	179
<i>Sublimity of their Thoughts</i>	182
<i>Their Hatred of the Turks</i>	ibid
<i>Their Riches, &c.</i>	185
<i>Learning before Mohammed</i>	247
<i>How and by whom improved since</i>	250
<i>Present State thereof</i>	254
<i>Aulnoy Mr. de, the Author lodges at his House in Paris</i>	i. 78
<i>Character of him and his Lady</i>	ibid
<i>His narrow Escape from an infamous Death</i>	140
<i>Author, vide Brown</i>	
<i>Azaphs, or A'aphs, Turkish In. antry</i>	ii 220
	B

I N D E X.

B

B Achouchs, <i>a Corps of Infantry</i>	ii.	220
<i>Bassa of Cairo, his Office</i>	ii.	217
<i>His Court and Splendour</i>		219
<i>His real Weakness</i>		221
<i>His Policy</i>		222
<i>Obliged to be wicked</i>		223
Bey, Mehemed, <i>his Kindness to the Au-</i>		
<i>thor</i>	ii.	72
<i>Hamet, his History</i>		182
<i>Nature of this Dignity</i>		219
<i>How supported against a Bassa</i>		222
Bontiko William, <i>a Dutch Seaman, his</i>		
<i>wonderful Deliverance</i>	i.	287
Brown Mr. <i>where born</i>	i.	3
<i>His Education</i>		4
<i>Loss of his Parents</i>		ibid
<i>Retires into Lincolnshire</i>		5
<i>Falls in Love with Lucia</i>		8
<i>Unlucky Accident occasion'd thereby</i>		16
<i>Leaves Lincolnshire</i>		18
<i>Resolves to quit England</i>		ibid
<i>Arrives at Diepe</i>		26
<i>Settles at Roan</i>		38
<i>Goes to Paris</i>		78
<i>Sets out for Italy</i>		79
<i>Arrives at Geneva</i>		87
<i>Loses his Uncle</i>		124

I N D E X.

<i>Is much distressed thereby</i>	i.	126
<i>Falls into Acquaintance with Mr. Roland</i>		127
<i>Hears of Lucia at Venice</i>		131
<i>Thinks of going thither</i>		135
<i>Johnson's Advice on that Head</i>	ibid	
<i>He goes to Venice</i>		138
<i>His Interview with Lucia</i>		139
<i>He resolves to go to Egypt</i>		216
<i>He arrives at Alexandria</i>		304
<i>His Journey to Suez</i>	ii.	61
<i>His Travels thro' Upper Egypt</i>		70
<i>His Return to Cairo</i>		90
<i>Resolves to come back to Europe</i>		285
<i>Hath Thoughts of going to India</i>		296
<i>Arrives at Leghorn</i>		299
<i>Projects a Return to England</i>		307
<i>Difficulties attending that Project</i>		310
<i>These are by degrees overcome</i>		316
<i>His Return</i>		317
<i>Buckingham Duke of, his Love to Che- mestry</i>	i.	65
<i>In Disgrace with K. Charles II.</i>		155
<i>Restored to higher Favour than be- fore</i>		156

C

C AEN, Description thereof	i.	62
Caux, Pais de, Description of the District	i.	61
Che-		

I N D E X.

Chemestry, <i>Disputes for and against this Art</i>	i. 201
Christians, <i>take little Pains to propagate their Religion</i>	ii. 192
Copts, or Cophts, <i>the original Inhabitants of Egypt</i>	ii. 155
<i>Their present Condition</i>	156
<i>Their Learning and Religion</i>	158
<i>Their Government</i>	159
<i>Their Virtues, &c.</i>	160
Corfsairs, <i>an Account of them</i>	i. 247
<i>Singular History of one</i>	252
<i>Bravery of a French Captain</i>	254
Crocodiles, <i>exact Account of them</i>	ii. 154
Cromwell Oliver, <i>Mr. Brown's Father much in his Favour</i>	i. 4
<i>Mr. Fetherstone's Interview with him</i>	21
<i>Account of an Attempt to murder him</i>	30
<i>Instance of Cardinal Mazarine's Respect for him</i>	103
<i>His Correspondence with the Pope</i>	105
<i>His corrupting the King's Friends</i>	106
Cyder, <i>the common Drink in Normandy</i>	i. 77

D

D Ervises, <i>Account of their College</i>	ii. 44
Diepe, <i>a Description of the Sea-Port</i>	i. 35
Dragon.	

I N D E X.

Dragon of Roan, <i>strange Account of it</i>	i. 74
Dupré <i>Sieur, the Bravo, his History</i>	i. 107
Dudley, <i>Earl of Leicester, his Amours</i>	i. 232
Sir Robert, <i>Son of the Earl, his Adventures</i>	233
<i>He makes Leghorn a Port</i>	238
<i>Made Duke of Northumberland</i>	239
<i>Account of his Descendents</i>	241

E

EGYPT, <i>our Author's Arrival there</i>	i. 304
<i>His general Description thereof</i>	ii. 134
<i>Names of this Country</i>	ibid
<i>Extent of it</i>	135
<i>Form thereof</i>	ibid
<i>Present Condition</i>	138
<i>Air and its Qualities</i>	ibid
<i>Soil and its Properties</i>	140
<i>Salt here the best in the World</i>	141
<i>Marble and other fine Stones</i>	142
<i>Curious Plants</i>	143
<i>Remarkable Birds</i>	145
<i>Fish and their Qualities</i>	147
<i>Insects worthy of Notice</i>	148
<i>Reptiles, &c.</i>	150
<i>Government under the Turk</i>	217
Egyptians, <i>how many Sorts of People comprehended under that Name</i>	ii. 155
<i>Ancient,</i>	

I N D E X.

<i>Ancient, their Learning</i>	ii.	227
<i>Their Government</i>		239
<i>Their Power</i>		241
<i>Their Grandeur</i>		243
<i>Their Magnificence</i>		ibid
<i>Their Public Works</i>		244
<i>Their Number</i>		246
<i>The present State of Learning</i>		254
<i>Of Physic amongst them</i>		268
<i>Ethiopia, our Author procures an Account of it</i>	ii.	69
<i>Obtains farther Lights</i>		77
<i>Digests these into a regular Work</i>		102
<i>Names of Ethiopia</i>		105
<i>Its Climate</i>		106
<i>Its Fruits, &c.</i>		108
<i>Salt the Money there</i>		110
<i>Its Rivers</i>		ibid
<i>Its Animals</i>		111
<i>Its Birds</i>		112
<i>Its Inhabitants</i>		ibid
<i>Ethiopians, Account of them</i>	ii.	112
<i>Their Religion</i>		113
<i>Their Government</i>		115
<i>Dominions depending on their Empire</i>		117
<i>Their Customs, &c.</i>		118
<i>Frequent Rebellions</i>		122
<i>Their Genius and Learning</i>		125
<i>Account of Moors who infest them</i>		128
		F

I N D E X.

F

F A S T of Rammadan, <i>Account of it</i>	ii.	206
Fetherstone Mr. <i>his Character</i>	i.	19
<i>Account of his Intercourse with Oliver</i>		21
<i>Reason of his going abroad</i>		23
<i>Instance of the Author's Regard for him</i>		27
<i>Recommends the Author to Mr. St. Dennis</i>		37
<i>Goes himself over to England</i>		65
<i>His extraordinary Conduct</i>		66
<i>Fails and leaves France</i>		130
<i>Joins our Author at Geveva</i>		179
<i>Resolves to go to Egypt</i>		216
<i>Falls sick at Leghorn</i>		229
<i>Negotiates the Author's Affairs</i>	ii.	47
<i>Returns to England</i>		312
Franks in Egypt, <i>whence so called</i>	ii.	189
<i>Their Manner of living there</i>		190
<i>The Italians commended</i>		191

G

G ALLAS, <i>Account of that powerful Nation</i>	ii.	130
<i>Their Customs, Force, &c.</i>		131
<i>Their Government</i>		132
<i>Their Mode of making War</i>		ibid
<i>Their</i>		

I N D E X.

<i>Their last Incurſion into Abyſſinia</i>	ibid
<i>Galiga Madam de, Marſhalls D'Ancre,</i>	
<i>Doubts concerning her Family</i>	i. 117
<i>Lives uneaſily in the Miſt of Splen-</i>	
<i>dor</i>	118
<i>Inclined to retire into Italy</i>	119
<i>Imprisoned and deprived of all</i>	
<i>things</i>	120
<i>Her Magnanimity</i>	ibid
<i>Condemn'd and executed for a Witch</i>	
	ibid
<i>Geneva, Deſcription of that City</i>	i. 89
<i>Number of its Inhabitants</i>	ibid
<i>Plenty of Proviſions</i>	ibid
<i>Fruitless Attempt thereon by the</i>	
<i>Duke of Savoy</i>	90
<i>Severity of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline</i>	93
<i>Sober Diſpoſition of the Inhabitants</i>	
	ibid
<i>Various other Remarks</i>	94
<i>Greenville Mrs. attempts to murder Oliver</i>	
<i>Cromwell</i>	i. 30

H

H A M E T, Prince of Sait, his	
<i>Character</i>	ii. 183
<i>Circumvented by the Turks</i>	184
<i>Forces his Way through them</i>	ibid
<i>Hamet, a noble Arab, eſcorts the Author</i>	
	ii. 90
	<i>His</i>

I N D E X.

<i>His Character and Conduct</i>	ibid
<i>Takes from the Author his Jewels</i>	92
<i>Sends him by the Nile to Cairo</i>	94
<i>Carries the Jewels safely</i>	98
Hassan, the Moor, his Character	ii. 25
<i>The Author's Acquaintance with him</i>	26
<i>Meets him at Cairo</i>	36
<i>His Notion of the occult Sciences</i>	40
<i>He sends our Author into Upper Egypt</i>	49
<i>Receives him kindly on his Return</i>	97
<i>Remarks on the Author's Conduct</i>	98
<i>Accounts for what happened</i>	ibid
<i>Retires suddenly to Algiers</i>	ibid
Henry IV. Account of his Murder	i. 68
Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, encourages Assassins	98
<i>Dies suddenly by an Accident</i>	ibid
<i>Stinging Satire thereon</i>	99

I

J <i>Acobi Captain, his Account of the Man who had the Philosopher's Stone</i>	i. 244
<i>His Account of the Corsairs</i>	248
<i>Other Matters related by him</i>	252
Janizaries their Power in Egypt	ii. 221
Jew, Abraham at Alexandria	i. 308
<i>Wandering, several Accounts of him</i>	ii. 163
	Jews,

I N D E X.

Jews, <i>vast numbers in Ethiopia</i>	ii.	129
<i>Also in Egypt</i>		160
<i>Their manner of living</i>		ibid
<i>Their Arts and Address</i>		162
Ibrahim of Tetuan, <i>his History</i>	ii.	18
Inquisition, <i>a rational Account thereof</i>		
	i.	190
<i>When established</i>		ibid
Philip III. <i>submits to it</i>		192
John IV. of Portugal <i>his Conduct towards it</i>		193
<i>How its Powers are maintained</i>		194
<i>Wonderful Submission of the People towards it</i>		198
Johnson <i>his Character</i>	i.	135
<i>His extraordinary Fidelity</i>	ii.	305
<i>His Return to England</i>		317
Ireland, <i>Reflections on the State of that Country</i>	i.	33
Isouf Aga, <i>entertains the Author kindly</i>		
	ii.	67
<i>His Son's odd Distemper</i>		68
<i>He presents the Author with a MS.</i>		69
Ivetot <i>a little Kingdom in Normandy</i>	i.	59

L

L Earning Oriental, <i>general Account thereof</i>	ii.	59
<i>Its present State</i>		254
Leghorn, <i>short History thereof</i>	i.	238
<i>Particular</i>		

I N D E X.

<i>Particular Description of it</i>	242
<i>Account of its Commerce</i>	243
<i>Life, true Reason why a Man writes his own</i>	i. 1
<i>Cause of the Author's writing his</i>	2
<i>Lisle Mr. Account of his being murdered at Loufanne</i>	i. 95
<i>Livesay Sir Michael, Account of him</i>	i. 32
<i>Lucretia Dondo, her Family and Chara- racter</i>	i. 161
<i>Beloved by Signior Lorenzo</i>	162
<i>Married to the Marquiss Orciano</i>	ibid
<i>Causelessly and cruelly murdered</i>	163
<i>Dismal Consequences thereof</i>	164
<i>Lucia, where seen by Mr. Brown</i>	i. 8
<i>Her Family, &c.</i>	9
<i>Sent from her Father's House</i>	16
<i>Interview with the Author at Venice</i>	144
<i>Her History</i>	145
<i>Carried back to England</i>	ii. 306
<i>Account of her afterwards</i>	ibid
<i>Lyons, City thereof described</i>	i. 80
<i>Its happy Situation</i>	81
<i>Privileges and great Trade</i>	83
<i>Account of its famous Clock</i>	84
<i>Is held to be three Times as big as Geneva</i>	89
	M

I N D E X.

M

- M**ALTA *Island, of the Author's*
Arrival there i. 258
Description of the Cities therein ibid
The Author travels over the Isle 264
Natural History thereof 274
Account of its Inhabitants 276
The Government there 277
Revenues of the Grand Master 279
Smaller Isles depending thereon 284
The Author's Departure thence ibid
- Mamalukes, *Mistakes about them rectify'd*
 ii. 216
- Mary de Medicis *Queen, her Dream the*
Night before the King's Murder i. 70
- Mecca, *Account of the Pilgrimage thither,*
and the Reasons of enjoyning it ii. 207
History of that famous City 208
Mystical Meaning of the Pilgrimage
 211
- Mehemed Bey, *his kind Reception of the*
Author ii/ 72
Nature of their Correspondence 73
His Conferences with our Author 74
Carries him to the Mountains 78
Transaction between them for Eme-
rals 81
Treats the Author with great Con-
fidence 87
Dismiss

I N D E X.

- Dismisses him kindly with Presents* 89
- Melec an Abyssinian Slave, known to the Author* ii. 77
- Sells him a quantity of Medals* 83
- Melvill Mr. his Character* i. 100
- His Opinion of the first Dutch War* 101
- Mohammed, a distinct and accurate Account of his Religion* ii. 195
- Mistakes of Christians about him* 198
- The true Spring of his Greatness* 201
- Moors infesting Ethiopia* ii. 128
- Inhabiting Egypt* 165
- Account of them* 166
- Causes of their miserable State* *ibid*
- Vindication of this wretched Race* 168
- Stratagem of a Moorish King* 170
- Morat, Servant to Hassan, his Journey with the Author* ii. 61
- His pleasant Conversation* 62
- They arrive at Suez* 65
- Mustapha Aga, his and his Sister's History* ii. 42

N

- N***Evers, Description of this City and Dutchy* i. 79
- Also of the Ducal Palace* *ibid*
- Normandy Account of the Province* i. 76
- Northumberland Duke of, see Dudley*

I N D E X.

P

- P**Andolpho Signior, *his singular Story* i. 166
- Perez Alonzo, *our Author's Acquaintance with him* i. 182
- Account of him* ibid
- His Reasons for quitting Spain* 198
- His Zeal for Chemistry* 201
- His Project of going to Egypt* 207
- Executed with our Author* 216
- Their manner of living there* ii. 41
- Alteration in his Affairs* 287
- Returns to Europe* 291
- Kindness to our Author* 303
- Dies in France* 304
- Philip II. of Spain *why he supported the Inquisition* i. 191
- Philip III. *how treated by the Inquisition* i. 192
- Philosopher's Stone, *Dissertation thereon* i. 121
- Odd Account of one who had it* 244
- Story of the same sort in Africa* ii. 37
- The Fact accounted for* 38
- The Indians pretend to have it* 76
- Arabic and Indian Books about it* ibid
- Physic, *State thereof in Egypt* ii. 277
- Physicians, *their Skill and their Faults* ii. 279
- Plague, *Nature of it in Egypt* ii. 271
- Prayers of the Mohammedans ii. 203
- Pucci

I N D E X.

<i>Pucci Signior, our Author's Acquaintance with him</i>	i. 177
<i>The valuable Secret he possessed</i>	178
<i>Recovered from a dangerous Sicknes by the Author</i>	213
<i>Discovers his Secret to him</i>	215
<i>Kindness to our Author at his last Visit</i>	220

R

R oan, <i>Author's Journey thither</i>	i. 36
<i>An exact Description thereof</i>	73
<i>Roland Mr. his Character</i>	i. 122
<i>Rosetta, our Author's Arrival there</i>	ii. 17

S

S adi Ephraim, <i>Account of him</i>	ii. 292
<i>His manner of living</i>	293
<i>Buys Jewels of the Author</i>	301
<i>Say Mr. his Character</i>	i. 100
<i>Saint Dennis Mr. Description of his House at Roan</i>	i. 38
<i>His Opinion concerning Perkin Warbeck</i>	39
<i>The Author's great Obligations to him</i>	57
<i>Procures a Passage for the Author into Italy</i>	68
<i>Account of his Death</i>	115
<i>St. Marcelle his History</i>	i. 180
<i>St. Paul Mr. his Character</i>	i. 68
<i>His</i>	

I N D E X.

- His Account of the Murder of Henry IV.* ibid
- Salviati Dr. *his Character* i. 306
- Goes with the Author to Rosetta* ii. 17
- His Letter about the Ovens at Cairo* 97
- Account of his Death* 286
- Santons, *a full Account of them* ii. 45
- Sebastian King of Portugal, *an exact Account of his Adventures* i. 41
- Servier Mr. *his Character and Cabinet* i. 85
- Seignior Grand, *how he fleeces his Subjects* ii. 9
- Why he connives at the Tyranny of the Bassa of Cairo* 225
- Solomon Effendi, *a pretended Astrologer* ii. 42
- Spahis, *a kind of Turkish Cavalry* ii. 220
- Spouts at Sea, *an Account of them* i. 285
- Sprotti Dr. *Account of him* i. 264
- Suez, *the Author's Journey thither* ii. 65
- Account of that famous Port* ibid
- Remarks on its Trade* 66
- Swiss, *General Character of that People* i. 113

T

- T**aylor Mr. *his Care of the Author* i. 4
- Thurlo, *Secretary to the Protector* i. 21
- Turks in Egypt *their Characters* ii. 186
- Temper*

I N D E X.

<i>Temper and Manners</i>	ii. 188
<i>Their Virtues and Vices</i>	189

V

V <i>Alette, Grand-Master of Malta, his History</i>	i. 265
<i>Gallantly repulses the Turks</i>	267
<i>Builds a new City</i>	268
<i>Valletta the City of, described</i>	i. 258
<i>Vasquez Matthew, Account of him</i>	ii. 18
<i>Veccia Citta in Malta described</i>	i. 263
<i>Venice, Account of that City and Inhabitants</i>	i. 170
<i>Verdala Cardinal, his famous Pleasure-House in Malta</i>	i. 282
<i>Vignacour, Grand-Master of Malta</i>	i. 270
<i>Villeneuve Mr. his Character</i>	i. 28
<i>His strange Story of Cromwell</i>	29
<i>Villiers Lord Francis, beloved by Mrs. Greenville</i>	i. 30
<i>Account of his Death</i>	29
<i>Better Account of it</i>	32
<i>Vittoriosa City of, in the Isle of Malta</i>	i. 162

6 JA 63

W

W <i>Ashings of the Mohammedans, Account of them</i>	ii. 202
---	---------

Z

Z <i>Urich, an Account of this City and Canton</i>	i. III
---	--------

F I N I S.

